

George D. Smith, Pretty Prairie.  
 Thomas L. Chase, Protection.  
 George A. Bruch, Randall.  
 William C. Polley, Republic.  
 Harry S. Bearg, Robinson.  
 Josiah Crosby, St. Francis.  
 Harry D. Burke, Severy.  
 Henry F. Dodson, South Haven.  
 William J. Dehler, Sylvan Grove.  
 Jamee P. Kelley, White Cloud.

## LOUISIANA.

Teakle W. Dardenne, Plaquemine.

## MISSOURI.

Edward L. Potter, Advance.  
 John F. Patton, Albany.  
 Andrew Poe, Belle.  
 Edgar W. Prentiss, Bethany.  
 Nellie H. Hunter, Blairstown.  
 Charles L. Canaday, Blythedale.  
 William J. Jackson, Bourbon.  
 Anna C. Gessler, Buckner.  
 Nathan C. Hickcox, California.  
 John C. Sanders, Cartersville.  
 Ruth Thompson, Chula.  
 Charles C. Bishop, Clarence.  
 Bettie C. Hubbard, Clarkton.  
 Webb Watkins, Dexter.  
 George B. Sproule, Drexel.  
 Lena E. Reece, Elvins.  
 Harry P. Mason, Fayette.  
 Amelia C. Walters, Gorin.  
 William A. Hendon, Granby.  
 Frank H. Caughell, Hermann.  
 Joseph J. Hoeken, Hillsboro.  
 Brose Dickerson, Iberia.  
 John Fleurdelys, Ilasco.  
 Charley W. Mulinex, La Belle.  
 Charles E. Mayhall, Laddonia.  
 Arthur Aull, Lamar.  
 William H. Johnson, La Plata.  
 Jeremiah F. Poston, Leadwood.  
 Charles C. Carter, Maysville.  
 Mary F. Stewart, Mendon.  
 Fay Webb, Miller.  
 Charles G. Le Compte, Pierce City.  
 Olive De Lisle, Portageville.  
 John A. Fields, Powersville.  
 Booker H. Rucker, Rolla.  
 Robert J. Mulford, Spickard.  
 Solon McDaniel, Ulrich.  
 Harry B. Adkins, Weston.

## NEW YORK.

Michael L. Boyle, Glens Falls.

## NORTH DAKOTA.

Augustus E. Ross, Agricultural College.  
 John H. Fallon, Alexander.  
 Arnt H. Bradley, Ambrose.  
 James N. McGogy, Ashley.  
 Mabelle C. Elgar, Bowman.  
 Selmer Erfjord, Buxton.  
 Fred A. Young, Courtenay.  
 Edwin O. Larson, Crosby.  
 Genevieve Gregor, Dawson.  
 William H. Lenneville, Dickinson.  
 Cecil C. Chamberlain, Enderlin.  
 Dow S. Thomson, Fairdale.  
 Lorenz F. Tavis, Glen Ullin.  
 Orna F. Leedy, Goodrich.  
 James H. McNicol, Grand Forks.  
 Benjamin L. Anderson, Grenora.  
 George D. Tripp, Hettinger.  
 Luzerne J. Bowen, Hope.  
 Redmond A. Bolton, Jamestown.  
 Christian C. Reimers, Max.  
 Leo E. Behan, Mohall.  
 Ivah A. Miller, Nome.  
 Earl W. Spencer, Oberon.  
 William J. Storie, Osnabrock.  
 James F. McQueen, Pembina.  
 William E. Brophy, Rhame.  
 Anthony J. Berger, Richardton.  
 John W. Campbell, Ryder.  
 Albert C. Grant, St. Thomas.  
 Monrad R. Thue, Stanton.

Forrest Daniel, Sykestown.  
 Edward P. Starr, Tower City.  
 Freda E. Johnson, Washburn.  
 Holly M. Beall, Wing.

## SOUTH DAKOTA.

Harold R. Richardson, Arlington.  
 Marjorie A. Hazen, Canistota.  
 Thomas H. Ryan, Elk Point.  
 Louis W. Carter, Highmore.  
 William R. Russell, Lake Andes.  
 Laura Larsen, Lesterville.  
 John D. Haney, Mitchell.  
 Elmer R. Hill, Newell.  
 Edmund A. Barlow, Oacoma.  
 Inez G. Jones, Oelrichs.  
 Walter H. Fergen, Parkston.  
 Elmer E. Wilson, Platte.  
 Hugh H. Gardiner, Ree Heights.  
 Peder A. H. Hagen, Revillo.  
 George Fugate, St. Lawrence.  
 Fred C. Falkenburg, Scotland.  
 Paul J. Linster, Sisseton.  
 Bertha G. Moen, Toronto.  
 Orrin L. Starr, Tulare.  
 Carlota E. Beard, Valley Springs.  
 Carl O. Steen, Veblen.  
 Jessie A. Gerriets, Wentworth.  
 Will C. Bromwell, Wessington Springs.  
 Charles G. Kuentzel, White Rock.  
 Beatrice M. Dohson, Winfred.

## TENNESSEE.

Mamie D. Phillips, Brighton.  
 Ethelbert C. Cross, Clinton.  
 James M. Scarborough, Dover.  
 John M. Welch, Dukedom.  
 John C. Messamore, Fountain City.  
 Oliver Benton, Jackson.  
 Victor H. Williams, Jacksonville.  
 Alleene Pope, Jasper.  
 James P. Miller, Lafollette.  
 Alexander B. Miller, Limestone.  
 James D. Daniel, Linden.  
 Samuel D. Simpson, Loudon.  
 Etna M. McCormack, Lynchburg.  
 Hal P. Cotten, Rives.  
 Victor C. Stafford, Sevierville.

## TEXAS.

William C. O'Bryan, Groveton.

## WYOMING.

William W. Sproul, Casper.  
 Mertie E. Mitchell, Hanna.  
 James A. Woods, Lingle.  
 Walter A. Olson, Lusk.

## HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

FRIDAY, January 23, 1920.

The House met at 12 o'clock noon.

The Chaplain, Rev. Henry N. Couden, D. D., offered the following prayer:

We thank Thee, our Father in heaven, that the Christian religion is coming to its own, since it is no longer a riddle to be solved but a life to be lived.

Metaphysics, speculative theology are fast passing; the churches are getting together; conventionalities, forms, ceremonies are regarded only as stepping stones.

Christ lives and is abroad in the earth—illustrated by the Red Cross, the Christian Endeavor, the Knights of Columbus, the Salvation Army, and a thousand philanthropic organizations whose object is to throw safeguards around the children, young men and young women, to save them from the hells of this life and fit them for the life revealed in the Jesus of Nazareth. Amen.

The Journal of the proceedings of yesterday was read and approved.

## EFFICIENCY AND PERSONNEL OF THE NAVY AND COAST GUARD.

Mr. CAMPBELL of Kansas. Mr. Speaker, I submit a privileged report from the Committee on Rules.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Kansas submits a privileged report from the Committee on Rules, which will be read by the Clerk.

The Clerk read as follows:

The Committee on Rules, to which was referred H. Res. —, submit a privileged report on said resolution with the recommendation that it be adopted:

"Resolved, That immediately upon the adoption of this rule it shall be in order for the Speaker to recognize the Member in charge of H. R. 11927 to move to suspend the rules and pass the bill, being a bill 'To increase the efficiency and personnel of the Navy and Coast Guard through temporary provision of bonus or increased compensation,' the general rules of the House to the contrary notwithstanding."

Mr. BLANTON. Mr. Speaker, is the gentleman from Kansas certain that this is a privileged resolution?

Mr. CAMPBELL of Kansas. He is.

Mr. BLANTON. If he was not, I wanted to reserve a point of order on it.

Mr. CAMPBELL of Kansas. The purpose of the rule is to make it in order for the gentleman in charge of the bill referred to to move to suspend the rules and pass the bill. The bill is reported from the Committee on Naval Affairs—

Mr. BUTLER. Unanimously.

Mr. CAMPBELL of Kansas. Unanimously, as I am informed, providing increased pay for certain men in the Navy. I understand the higher officers, and, in fact, all the commissioned officers of the Navy are eliminated from the bill. It simply provides for enlisted men and petty officers.

Mr. WALSH. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. CAMPBELL of Kansas. Yes.

Mr. WALSH. Will the gentleman state why an important measure of this sort is brought in under a rule suspending the rules when there can be only 20 minutes' debate on a side instead of being brought in in the usual way?

Mr. CAMPBELL of Kansas. The purpose is to make it in order to move to suspend the rules to-day rather than to wait for 10 days, because of the emergency that exists in the Navy. Does the gentleman from North Carolina [Mr. POU] desire any time?

Mr. POU. We do not care for any time.

Mr. CAMPBELL of Kansas. If no one desires time on the rule, Mr. Speaker, I move the previous question.

Mr. CLARK of Missouri. I wish the gentleman would withhold that until I can make a parliamentary inquiry.

Mr. CAMPBELL of Kansas. I withhold the motion.

Mr. CLARK of Missouri. I should like to ask how the Speaker could refer this resolution to the Committee on Rules when the rule itself refers to it as "H. Res. blank"?

Mr. CAMPBELL of Kansas. I think I can answer the question of the gentleman from Missouri. The rule was prepared in manuscript and not printed, to meet this emergency, just as the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. CLARK] has prepared rules with a lead pencil and had them agreed to within five minutes after they were written.

Mr. CLARK of Missouri. I just wanted to know.

Mr. CAMPBELL of Kansas. This is one of that kind.

Mr. GARD. Will the gentleman yield further?

Mr. CAMPBELL of Kansas. I yield for a question.

Mr. GARD. Who is the gentleman of the Naval Affairs Committee referred to in the rule who has charge of the presentation of this bill?

Mr. CAMPBELL of Kansas. I understand the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. KELLEY] has charge of the bill.

Mr. GARD. It is the purpose under this rule to pass this bill exactly as it is, without any opportunity for amendment?

Mr. CAMPBELL of Kansas. Under the rules of the House a motion to suspend the rules admits of 40 minutes' debate. After that a vote on the bill without amendment or just as the bill is presented to the House is had.

Mr. GARNER. How much money does this take out of the Treasury?

Mr. CAMPBELL of Kansas. I yield to the gentleman from Michigan to answer that question.

Mr. KELLEY of Michigan. About \$10,000,000 annually.

Mr. GARNER. And I understand the gentleman from Kansas [Mr. CAMPBELL], on the spur of the moment, in the emergency, pencils a resolution without any number, and wants the House to consider it, and moves the previous question on a proposition to give 20 minutes' debate on a side on a bill which takes \$10,000,000 a year out of the Treasury.

Mr. CAMPBELL of Kansas. Yes.

Mr. GARNER. That looks to me like rapid-fire economy—electric economy, I might term it—20 minutes on a side to discuss a question that involves taking \$10,000,000 a year out of the Treasury.

Mr. CAMPBELL of Kansas. There have been many hours of discussion in the Committee on Naval Affairs.

Mr. BUTLER. We have had it under consideration for four months.

Mr. CAMPBELL of Kansas. The Committee on Naval Affairs have had it under consideration ever since last October, and the Secretary of the Navy has written twice, asking for much more than is provided for by the bill.

Mr. GARNER. The committee have had it since last October. There have been four months' consideration in the Committee on Naval Affairs. About how much consideration has it had by the steering committee?

Mr. CAMPBELL of Kansas. I am unable to inform the gentleman from Texas, not being a member of the steering committee.

Mr. GARNER. If it took four months in the Committee on Naval Affairs and two weeks in the steering committee, I am wondering why you allow only 20 minutes' debate on a side in the House? That is the way you legislate here. It takes a committee of the House four months, and takes the steering committee 10 days, and then you allow 20 minutes on a side, on a bill taking \$10,000,000 a year out of the Treasury.

Mr. CAMPBELL of Kansas. It takes several months to grow a plum, and just a moment to pick it. We are picking it here this morning. Mr. Speaker, I move the previous question.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Kansas moves the previous question.

Mr. WALSH. Mr. Chairman, I ask for a division.

The House divided; and there were—yeas 72, nays 18.

So the previous question was ordered.

The SPEAKER. The question is on agreeing to the resolution.

The question being taken, Mr. BLANTON and Mr. WALSH demanded a division.

The House proceeded to divide.

Mr. BLANTON. Mr. Speaker, the House having divided, I make the point of no quorum present.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Texas makes the point of no quorum present. There is no quorum present. The Doorkeeper will lock the doors, and the Sergeant at Arms will notify absentees. Those in favor of agreeing to the resolution will, as their names are called, vote "yea," those opposed "nay," and the Clerk will call the roll.

The question was taken; and there were—yeas 297, nays 30, not voting 101, as follows:

#### YEAS—297.

Ackerman	Dempsey	Hoch	Madden
Anderson	Denison	Hoe	Magee
Andrews, Md.	Dickinson, Mo.	Holland	Maher
Andrews, Nebr.	Dickinson, Iowa	Houghton	Major
Anthony	Donovan	Howard	Mann, S. C.
Ayres	Dooling	Hulings	Mapes
Bakka	Doremus	Hull, Iowa	Mead
Bacharach	Dowell	Husted	Merritt
Baer	Drane	Hutchinson	Michener
Barbour	Dunbar	Ireland	Miller
Bee	Dunn	James	Minahan, N. J.
Begg	Dyer	Johnson, Ky.	Mondell
Bell	Eagan	Johnson, S. Dak.	Montague
Benham	Echols	Jones, Pa.	Mooney
Benson	Edmonds	Kearns	Moore, Va.
Black	Elliott	Keller	Moore, Ind.
Blackmon	Ellsworth	Kelley, Mich.	Morgan
Bland, Ind.	Elston	Kelly, Pa.	Morin
Bland, Mo.	Emerson	Kendall	Mott
Boies	Esch	Kennedy, Iowa	Mudd
Brand	Fairfield	Kettner	Murphy
Briggs	Fisher	Kless	Neely
Brinson	Focht	King	Nelson, Mo.
Brooks, Ill.	Fordney	Kinkaid	Nelson, Wis.
Brooks, Pa.	Frear	Klecka	Newton, Minn.
Browne	Freeman	Knutson	Newton, Mo.
Browning	Fuller, Ill.	Kraus	Nichols, Mich.
Brumbaugh	Gallagher	Kreider	Noian
Burke	Ganly	Lampert	O'Connell
Butler	Garland	Langley	O'Connor
Byrnes, S. C.	Glynn	Lanham	Ogden
Campbell, Kans.	Goldwin, N. C.	Lankford	Oldfield
Campbell, Pa.	Goldfogle	Layton	Oliver
Cannon	Good	Lea, Calif.	Osborne
Cantrill	Goodall	Lee, Ga.	Overstreet
Carew	Goodwin, Ark.	Leibach	Padgett
Carss	Goodykoontz	Lithicum	Paige
Chindblom	Green, Iowa	Little	Park
Clark, Mo.	Greene, Mass.	Loneragan	Parker
Classon	Greene, Vt.	Longworth	Parrish
Cleary	Griest	Luce	Pell
Coady	Hadley	Lufkin	Peters
Cole	Hamilton	Luhning	Phelan
Collier	Hardy, Colo.	McArthur	Platt
Connally	Hardy, Tex.	McClintic	Porter
Costello	Harold	McDuffie	Pou
Crago	Hastings	McFadden	Purnell
Cramton	Haugen	McGlennon	Radcliffe
Crisp	Hawley	McKenzie	Rainey, Ala.
Cullen	Hays	McKiniry	Rainey, H. T.
Currie, Mich.	Heffin	McKinley	Rainey, J. W.
Dale	Hernandez	McLane	Raker
Dallinger	Hersey	McLaughlin, Mich.	Ramseyer
Darrow	Hersman	McLaughlin, Nebr.	Randall, Calif.
Davey	Hickey	MacCrate	Randall, Wis.
Davis, Minn.	Hicks	MacGregor	Reavis



Rhodes	Sinnott	Swope	Welling
Ricketts	Sisgon	Taylor, Colo.	Wheeler
Riddick	Small	Taylor, Tenn.	White, Kans.
Robinson, N. C.	Smith, Idaho	Temple	White, Me.
Robison, Kv.	Smith, Ill.	Thomas	Williams
Rodenberg	Smith, Mich.	Tillman	Wilson, Ill.
Rogers	Smithwick	Tilson	Wilson, La.
Rose	Snell	Timberlake	Wingo
Rouse	Snyder	Tincher	Winslow
Rowe	Stedman	Tinkham	Wise
Rutley	Steenerson	Valle	Wood, Ind.
Sanders, Ind.	Stephens, Miss.	Venable	Woods, Va.
Sanford	Stephens, Ohio	Vestal	Wright
Schall	Stevenson	Vinson	Yates
Sears	Strong, Kans.	Volgt	Young, N. Dak.
Sells	Strong, Pa.	Walters	Zihlman
Shreve	Summers, Wash.	Watson	
Sims	Summers, Tex.	Weaver	
Sinclair	Sweet	Webster	

## NAYS—30.

Ashbrook	Dominick	Jones, Tex.	Rucker
Bland, Va.	Evans, Nev.	Kincheloe	Saunders, Va.
Blanton	Gard	Kitchin	Sherwood
Box	Garner	Leshner	Steagall
Buchanan	Griffin	Mansfield	Welty
Byrns, Tenn.	Huddleston	Mays	Young, Tex.
Caldwell	Igoe	Quinn	
Clark, Fla.	Johnson, Miss.	Rayburn	

## NOT VOTING—101.

Almon	Ferris	Kennedy, R. I.	Scully
Aswell	Fess	Larsen	Siegel
Bankhead	Fields	Lazaro	Slomp
Barkley	Flood	McAndrews	Smith, N. Y.
Boomer	Foster	McCulloch	Steele
Bowers	French	McKeown	Stiness
Britten	Fuller, Mass.	McPherson	Stoll
Burdick	Gallivan	Mann, Ill.	Sullivan
Burroughs	Gandy	Martin	Tague
Candler	Garrett	Mason	Taylor, Ark.
Caraway	Gould	Monahan, Wis.	Thompson
Carter	Graham, Pa.	Moon	Towner
Casey	Graham, Ill.	Moore, Ohio	Treadway
Christopherson	Hamill	Nicholls, S. C.	Upshaw
Cooper	Harrison	Olney	Vare
Copley	Hayden	Ramsey	Volstead
Crowther	Hill	Reber	Ward
Curry, Calif.	Hudspeth	Reed, N. Y.	Watson
Davis, Tenn.	Hull, Tenn.	Reed, W. Va.	Watkins
Dent	Humphreys	Riordan	Whaley
Dewalt	Jacoway	Romjue	Wilson, Pa.
Doughton	Jefferis	Rowan	Woodyard
Dupré	Johnson, Wash.	Sabath	
Eagle	Johnston, N. Y.	Sanders, La.	
Evans, Mont.	Juhl	Sanders, N. Y.	
Evans, Nebr.	Kahn	Scott	

So the resolution was agreed to.

The Clerk announced the following pairs:

Mr. BOWERS with Mr. WHALEY.  
 Mr. CHRISTOPHERSON with Mr. TAYLOR of Arkansas.  
 Mr. EVANS of Nebraska with Mr. SULLIVAN.  
 Mr. FESS with Mr. STEELE.  
 Mr. KAHN with Mr. DENT.  
 Mr. HILL with Mr. STOLL.  
 Mr. JUUL with Mr. FERRIS.  
 Mr. SIEGEL with Mr. ALMON.  
 Mr. WOODYARD with Mr. GANDY.  
 Mr. FRENCH with Mr. McKEOWN.  
 Mr. KENNEDY of Rhode Island with Mr. SABATH.  
 Mr. CROWTHER with Mr. McANDREWS.  
 Mr. REED of West Virginia with Mr. CARTER.  
 Mr. SLEMP with Mr. DEWALT.  
 Mr. TOWNER with Mr. DOUGHTON.  
 Mr. VOLSTEAD with Mr. ASWELL.  
 Mr. BRITTEN with Mr. SANDERS of Louisiana.  
 Mr. CURRY of California with Mr. OLNEY.  
 Mr. GRAHAM of Pennsylvania with Mr. TAGUE.  
 Mr. SCOTT with Mr. CANDLER.  
 Mr. RAMSEY with Mr. DUPRE.  
 Mr. WARD with Mr. HAMILL.  
 Mr. BURDICK with Mr. SCULLY.  
 Mr. FOSTER with Mr. RIORDAN.  
 Mr. BURROUGHS with Mr. UPSHAW.  
 Mr. FULLER of Massachusetts with Mr. HULL of Tennessee.  
 Mr. COOPER with Mr. HUMPHREYS.  
 Mr. GOULD with Mr. LARSEN.  
 Mr. COPLEY with Mr. SMITH of New York.  
 Mr. SANDERS of New York with Mr. BARKLEY.  
 Mr. WALSH with Mr. BANKHEAD.  
 Mr. GRAHAM of Illinois with Mr. LAZARO.  
 Mr. JEFFERIS with Mr. MARTIN.  
 Mr. MASON with Mr. CASEY.  
 Mr. STINESS with Mr. EAGLE.  
 Mr. VARE with Mr. CARAWAY.  
 Mr. HICKEY with Mr. WATKINS.  
 Mr. McCULLOCH with Mr. ROMJUE.  
 Mr. JOHNSON of Washington with Mr. ROWAN.  
 Mr. McPHERSON with Mr. EVANS of Montana.  
 Mr. MONAHAN of Wisconsin with Mr. FIELDS.

Mr. THOMPSON with Mr. GALLIVAN.

Mr. REBER with Mr. HARRISON.

Mr. MANN of Illinois with Mr. GARRETT.

Mr. MOORE of Ohio with Mr. FLOOD.

Mr. WASON with Mr. HUDSPETH.

Mr. TREADWAY with Mr. HAYDEN.

Mr. REED of New York with Mr. WILSON of Pennsylvania.

The result of the vote was announced as above recorded.

Mr. KELLEY of Michigan. Mr. Speaker, I move to suspend the rules and pass the bill (H. R. 11927) to increase the efficiency of the personnel of the Navy and Coast Guard through the temporary provision of bonuses or increased compensation, which I send to the desk and ask to have read.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Michigan moves to suspend the rules and pass the bill which the Clerk will report.

The Clerk read the bill, as follows:

*Be it enacted, etc.,* That commencing January 1, 1920, a bonus shall be paid to commissioned warrant and warrant officers of the Navy, in addition to all pay and allowances now or hereafter allowed by law, at rates per annum as follows: Commissioned warrant officers, \$480; warrant officers, \$240.

SEC. 2. That commencing January 1, 1920, the following shall be the rate of base pay for each enlisted rating: Chief petty officers with acting appointments, \$99 per month; chief petty officers with permanent appointments and mates, \$126 per month; petty officers, first class, \$84 per month; petty officers, second class, \$72 per month; petty officers, third class, \$60 per month; nonrated men, first class, \$54 per month; nonrated men, second class, \$48 per month; nonrated men, third class, \$33 per month: *Provided*, That the base pay of firemen, first class, shall be \$60 per month; firemen, second class, \$54 per month; firemen, third class, \$48 per month: *Provided further*, That the rate of base pay for each rating in the Naval Academy Band shall be as follows: Second leader, with acting appointment, \$99 per month; with permanent appointment, \$126 per month; drum major, \$84 per month; musicians, first class, \$72 per month; musicians, second class, \$60 per month: *Provided further*, That the base pay of cabin stewards and cabin cooks shall be \$84 per month; wardroom stewards and wardroom cooks, \$72 per month; steerage stewards and steerage cooks, \$72 per month; warrant officers' stewards and warrant officers' cooks, \$60 per month; mess attendants, first class, \$42 per month; mess attendants, second class, \$36 per month; mess attendants, third class, \$33 per month: *Provided further*, That the retainer pay of those members of the Fleet Naval Reserve who, pursuant to call, shall return to active duty within one month after the passage of this act and shall continue on active duty until the Navy shall have been recruited up to its permanent authorized strength, shall be computed upon the base pay they are receiving when retransferred to inactive duty, plus the additions or increases prescribed in the naval appropriation act approved August 29, 1916, for members of the Fleet Naval Reserve.

SEC. 3. That the Secretary of the Navy is authorized, in his discretion, to readjust the prevailing rates of pay of civilian professors and instructors at the United States Naval Academy: *Provided*, That said readjustment, which shall be effective from January 1, 1920, shall not involve an additional expenditure in excess of \$55,000 for the remainder of the current fiscal year.

SEC. 4. That commissioned warrant and warrant officers, petty officers, and other enlisted men of the Coast Guard shall receive the same pay and allowances and bonuses as are now or may hereafter be prescribed for corresponding grades or ratings and length of service in the Navy; and the grades and ratings of warrant officers, chief petty officers, petty officers, and other enlisted persons in the Coast Guard shall be the same as in the Navy, in so far as the duties of the Coast Guard may require, with the continuance in the Coast Guard of the grade of surfman, whose base pay shall be \$70 per month.

SEC. 5. That nothing contained in this act shall be construed as granting any back pay or allowances to any commissioned warrant or warrant officer or enlisted man whose active service shall have terminated subsequent to December 31, 1919, and prior to the passage of this act, unless such commissioned warrant or warrant officers or enlisted men shall have been recalled to active service or shall have been reenlisted.

SEC. 6. That any enlisted man or apprentice seaman who, having been honorably discharged from the naval service, shall reenlist within one year thereafter shall, on presenting his honorable discharge or on accounting in a satisfactory manner for its loss, be entitled to a gratuity of four months' pay equal in amount to that which he would have received if he had been employed in actual service during the four months immediately following his honorable discharge from the naval service, and shall receive all the benefits of continuous service: *Provided*, That this section shall become inoperative within six months after the date of the approval of this act.

SEC. 7. That the foregoing provisions of this act, except sections 3 and 4, shall remain effective until the close of the fiscal year ending June 30, 1921, unless sooner amended or repealed: *Provided*, That the rates of pay prescribed in section 2 hereof shall be the rates of pay during the current enlistment of all men in active service on the date of the passage of this act, and for those who enlist, reenlist, or extend their enlistments prior to July 1, 1921, for the term of such enlistment, reenlistment, or extended enlistment.

SEC. 8. That the appropriation "Pay of the Navy, 1920," is hereby made available for any of the expenses authorized by this act, and any part or all of the appropriation "Provisions, Navy, 1920," not required for the objects of expenditure specified in said appropriation may be transferred to the appropriation "Pay of the Navy, 1920": *Provided*, That any money remaining to the credit of the appropriation "Pay of the Navy, 1920," shall be available for supplementing, if necessary, such current appropriations of the Coast Guard as have been provided for the pay and allowances of officers and men of the Coast Guard.

SEC. 9. That nothing contained in this act shall operate to reduce the pay of any commissioned warrant or warrant officer or enlisted man of the Navy or Coast Guard: *Provided*, That the allowances and gratuities now authorized by existing law are not changed hereby, except as otherwise specified in this act.

The SPEAKER. Is a second demanded?

Mr. HUDDLESTON. Mr. Speaker, I demand a second.

Mr. KELLEY of Michigan. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that a second may be considered as ordered.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Michigan asks unanimous consent that a second may be considered as ordered. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Michigan is entitled to 20 minutes and the gentleman from Alabama 20 minutes.

Mr. KELLEY of Michigan. Mr. Speaker, this is a bill intended to give temporary relief to the enlisted personnel of the Navy. It provides increased pay until the 30th of June, 1921, and does not continue beyond that time. The situation in the Navy is exceedingly critical so far as the skilled men are concerned. When the armistice was signed the Navy had about 500,000 men. It was demobilized by the 1st of July last to 275,000 men, and at the present time there are about 100,000 men in the Navy. Those 100,000 men who are now in the Navy are nearly all young boys, 18, 19 years of age, and the skilled mechanics and officers of the enlisted personnel necessary to man these complicated ships and take care of the machinery, the boilers, and the engines, have nearly all left the service. At the present time, while we have an enlisted force of about 100,000 men, the shortage in these higher ratings is so great that we have not really a force of more than 45,000 men for the ships and for the shore stations. As a result of this shortage of skilled men the great majority of ships of the Navy to-day are tied up. We took about half of the fleet to the Pacific, but as soon as it arrived there the term of enlistment of thousands of men expired and they were discharged under legislation previously passed by Congress. Therefore, the greater portion of the Navy in the Pacific to-day is tied up at the navy yard at Mare Island and the navy yard at Bremerton for lack of men to man the ships in these higher ratings. The Navy Department has scoured the training stations for men who have had any degree of mechanical training. If a boy has been in school for two or three months, or perhaps a less time, at one of these training stations, where ordinarily he would remain a year pursuing his mechanical course, the Navy Department has taken him out and sent him to sea.

But even then the majority of the ships of the Navy are not really in commission to-day. This is a most dangerous situation so far as the ships and the men are concerned. Gentlemen will appreciate what a complicated thing a warship is. It has cost the Government sometimes as high as \$20,000,000 and has on board fifteen or sixteen hundred men, and the greatest of danger would result in having inexperienced boys 18 or 19 years of age attending the engines and boilers. An explosion might occur at any time with great loss of property and loss of life. Damage already has resulted on some of the smaller ships from this cause. The reason for this shortage of skilled men is apparent. The man who has been in the Navy for a few years is an ideal man for the merchant ships. During the last two or three years we have increased the merchant shipping of this country to something like 10,000,000 tons, and the merchant service is constantly reaching out to get skilled mechanics, to get these enginemen and firemen and others who have been trained in the Navy, and is offering twice as much pay as they are receiving in the Navy. So that the difficulties of keeping them in the service are very great. Not only that, but the general wage throughout the country, as we all know, is so much higher than it was formerly that these skilled mechanics are sought for in factories all over the country. We are paying on the average \$6.40 a day in the navy yards for skilled mechanics while a man in the Navy occupying a position of great importance on board ship has been getting \$83 a month. If he went out of the service and went into the navy yard he could draw as high as \$2,000 a year. These two causes taken together have resulted in taking the skilled men out of the Navy, so that to-day we are short of these skilled ratings something in the neighborhood of forty or forty-five thousand, based upon the normal strength of the Navy of 143,000 men.

In this bill we have provided for increases in pay on an average of about 33½ per cent over and above what they are now getting. We do not increase the pay of the apprentice seamen. The boys who are going into the service now are young boys. They have to spend five or six months in school before they are of any service to the Government, and we have not increased their initial pay. We did not think it was necessary to do so. Above the grade of apprentice seaman we increase the pay from 33½ per cent to 50 per cent.

Mr. NEWTON of Minnesota. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. KELLEY of Michigan. Yes.

Mr. NEWTON of Minnesota. I heartily agree with the idea of the gentleman and his committee in raising the pay of those men in the bill, but I notice that there is no provision whatever

made for an increase in the pay of the commissioned officers of the Navy whose pay has not been raised since the year 1908, if I am correctly informed.

Mr. KELLEY of Michigan. That is true, and I will say to the gentleman that the Secretary of the Navy did recommend an increase in the pay of the commissioned officers, and in my own judgment the officers of the Navy, especially those in the grades of commander, lieutenant commander, and lieutenant, are in dire need in many cases of relief; but there would be controversy over increasing the pay of the officers. This legislation which we have proposed is so vital, so absolutely necessary, and so pressing at the moment that we decided to report a bill carrying an increase for the men without the officers and at another time take up the question the gentleman referred to. I am fully in accord with the sentiment he has expressed.

Mr. NEWTON of Minnesota. Then the effect of this bill will be, if it becomes a law, that some of the warrant officers will draw more money than some of the commissioned officers.

Mr. KELLEY of Michigan. I think that is true even now, and is not at all improper. The commissioned warrant officer is a man who has gone up through all the grades of the Navy and gained his rating by his experience on board ship. That necessarily makes him, when he reaches the highest grade that he can reach, a man pretty well along in years. He is a man 40 or 45 years of age, and, of course, he has a family to support on shore. He gets the same pay as an ensign, who graduates from the academy, but who has not, generally speaking, any family, and whose expenses are very light. If we increase the pay of the man of mature years, the skilled man, who could easily secure a position as master of a merchant ship, the man with a family, I think we are doing what we ought to do. Understand me, I have no controversy over the question of whether the commissioned officer should have his salary increased under present conditions, because I think he should have more pay, especially in the lower ratings, but I feel that his necessities are not so great as the skilled mechanic, the man 40 or 45 years of age, who has a family on shore to take care of. That is why we put in the bill the provision for a bonus for the commissioned warrant officer and the warrant officer and did not include the ensign or lieutenant.

Mr. NEWTON of Minnesota. I sincerely hope this committee will before very long report out a bill that will attempt to do justice to the commissioned officers of the Navy.

Mr. CALDWELL. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. KELLEY of Michigan. Yes.

Mr. CALDWELL. Did not the gentleman's committee report a bill providing for an increase of salary of the commissioned personnel of the Navy?

Mr. KELLEY of Michigan. No. The Naval Committee reached an agreement on a bill of that kind, but it never was reported.

Mr. CALDWELL. Did not the gentleman's committee appoint a subcommittee to confer with a subcommittee of the Military Committee on the matter of reporting a bill to increase the pay of the commissioned personnel of both the Army and the Navy?

Mr. KELLEY of Michigan. We did have some negotiations with the Military Committee on the question of the pay of officers, but we never really formulated any plans or came to any understanding.

Mr. OLIVER. Mr. Speaker, the committee, however, some two months ago did agree on a bill providing for an increase of the officers' pay.

Mr. KELLEY of Michigan. Yes; but we never reported it.

Mr. OLIVER. My recollection is that the committee directed it to be reported.

Mr. KELLEY of Michigan. The gentleman asked if we had not reported the bill, and I said we had not.

Mr. OLIVER. There was opposition, however, on the part of some who would provide a rule for the reporting out of the bill, and for that reason we could not get consideration.

Mr. KELLEY of Michigan. Further, the bill which the Committee on Naval Affairs agreed upon did not carry any provisions for the personnel of the Army.

I think, perhaps, gentlemen, I had best reserve the balance of my time.

Mr. LINTHICUM. I wanted to ask the gentleman two questions. The first one is: If there is this scarcity of these men in the Navy, why would it not be a good idea to take these graduates from the Naval Academy, and men who have been serving in the Coast Guard for many years, and put them in the Navy to help?

Mr. KELLEY of Michigan. The Coast Guard is in as bad a condition as the Navy. That service has no skilled men to spare. There is a shortage of a thousand men in the Coast Guard out of a total of 5,000.



Mr. LINTHICUM. There are guardsmen there that have been serving for 25 years.

Mr. KELLEY of Michigan. They are officers. This bill deals with the enlisted force only.

Mr. LINTHICUM. I want to ask the gentleman if it is the intention of your committee to take care of the commissioned officers of the Navy? Is there any immediate prospect of doing that?

Mr. KELLEY of Michigan. The officers?

Mr. LINTHICUM. The commissioned officers?

Mr. KELLEY of Michigan. Nothing has been done so far.

Mr. LINTHICUM. Is there any prospect of anything being done?

Mr. KELLEY of Michigan. I will say to the gentleman that, in my opinion and in the opinion of the members of the committee, some relief ought to be given to at least the lower grades of the commissioned personnel of the Navy. I can not, of course, forecast the future action of the committee.

Mr. LINTHICUM. The gentleman heard a lot about the steering committee in connection with the rivers and harbors bill. Are they injecting anything in it to hold this back?

Mr. KELLEY of Michigan. I am not a member of the steering committee, and I wish the gentleman would direct his query to somebody who is a member of that committee.

Mr. KITCHIN. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. KELLEY of Michigan. I yield to the gentleman from North Carolina.

Mr. KITCHIN. I would like to ask the gentleman how much of an increase of appropriation is involved in this bill?

Mr. KELLEY of Michigan. The increase in appropriation is about \$10,000,000; but we will save, I will say to the gentleman from North Carolina, if these men come back, as we expect they will, \$100 per man—clothing allowance and much of the expense of recruiting. This saving will greatly reduce the amount I have stated.

Mr. KITCHIN. Now, if the increase which is asked applied to officers, how much would it have been?

Mr. KELLEY of Michigan. It would be the small end, I will say to the gentleman. The officers' increase would not amount to as much as the increase for the men. I will say, further, that this bill does not carry any appropriation.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The time of the gentleman has again expired.

Mr. KELLEY of Michigan. This bill does not carry any appropriation and none will be needed, because in the last naval bill we appropriated for an average of 190,000 men for this entire fiscal year; whereas, as a matter of fact, there are now only 100,000 men in the Navy, and the average will fall considerably below what we expected. So there should be a large sum of money turned back into the Treasury after the increase provided in this bill has been taken care of.

Mr. MILLER. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. KELLEY of Michigan. I will.

Mr. MILLER. I see that the letter of the Secretary says that those in similar positions in the Shipping Board get two and one-half times the pay of the Navy?

Mr. KELLEY of Michigan. That is true.

Mr. MILLER. And the increase is about 33½ per cent?

Mr. KELLEY of Michigan. That is true.

Mr. MILLER. Have you any assurance that you will get the desired men with that increase, even including the bonuses?

Mr. KELLEY of Michigan. I think this will do the business. Of course, nobody can tell, but the men themselves seem to think that considering the superior service of the Navy, the better care that they have in the Navy, the love of the service, and all that, and the retiring benefits, if they stay in the Navy long enough, that, everything taken together, this increase would induce the men that are in now to stay, and will get back those who have left during the last six or eight months.

Mr. MILLER. It is the judgment of the committee that the men will come back?

Mr. KELLEY of Michigan. It is the judgment of the committee and the judgment of the Bureau of Navigation.

Mr. KINCHELOE. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. KELLEY of Michigan. I yield to the gentleman from Kentucky.

Mr. KINCHELOE. What is the purpose of section 6? What is the purpose of giving them four months' back pay contingent on the fact that they reenlist? Is that for the purpose of getting back these experienced fellows that have gone out?

Mr. KELLEY of Michigan. I will say to the gentleman from Kentucky this, that when a man's term in the Navy expires, after he has served for four years, he is given a four months' leave, practically, and if he reenlists within the four months he gets four months' pay. You can see why that is so. A

young man goes into the Navy; he is away from home for four years, and if you did not give him a chance to go home for three or four months once in four years you would probably lose that man altogether. So the Government has been giving him four months' pay provided he reenlisted within that time. But we extend the time in this bill, so that if he comes back in six months or eight months he will get the four months' pay that he would have gotten if he had come back within the four months.

Mr. KINCHELOE. Suppose that he reenlists in a different rank than that which he had when he was discharged?

Mr. KELLEY of Michigan. He would not do that. He would get four months' pay in the rank in which he served when he went out.

Mr. Speaker, if there are no other questions, I will reserve the balance of my time.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman reserves one minute.

The gentleman from Alabama [Mr. HUDDLESTON] is recognized for 20 minutes.

Mr. HUDDLESTON. Mr. Chairman, I ask to be advised when I have used 10 minutes.

My objections to this bill are threefold. In two grounds of my opposition I am pretty strenuous. In the middle ground I am rather mild.

I object, first, to taking up a matter of this importance in this way—that is, by motion to suspend the rules, and under House rules no amendment to the bill can be offered and only 40 minutes of debate can be had. It is a bad way in which to take up legislation. It affords no opportunity for amendment, and no fair opportunity for discussion or understanding. It is quite obvious to me, and must be to the House as a whole, that this bill is brought forward in this particular way for the very purpose of preventing an amendment to the bill.

The rule proposed by the committee might just as well have made the bill in order and provided for taking it up regularly. Had that been done, the bill would have been subject to amendment. But evidently those who are responsible for bringing up the bill in this fashion do not want it amended and do not want the House to really understand what they are doing. So much for that.

My second ground for objection is mild. It is based chiefly upon my opposition to a close adherence to the scriptural text that—

For he that hath, to him shall be given; and to him that hath not, from him shall be taken even that which he hath.

I do not approve of that principle in legislation or anywhere else. This bill gives the biggest part of the increase to the men who are already getting the most. It gives the increase to the highest ratings, and to the lowest of all it gives nothing at all.

The gentleman from Michigan [Mr. KELLEY] speaks of those who enlist as being "boys," and hence entitled to little pay. Well, nobody but a boy can be roped in on any such pay as is given for the lowest rating.

Mr. STEPHENS of Ohio. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. HUDDLESTON. Excuse me, I would be glad to yield, but I have not the time. That is the reason they are not getting anybody but boys, and the department has been taking mere boys 16 and 17 years of age, "trundle-bed trash," out of my district against the will of their parents, and without their authority and consent until patience has ceased to be a virtue. That is an actual fact. We ought to have a Navy that is a men's Navy, and leave these boys at home to get their education and receive the training that they ought to have until they are 18 or 19 years old, instead of roping them in under what is in some cases almost false pretenses. We ought to increase the men's wages so that a grown man can afford to join the Navy. This bill does not do it, and it ought not to pass for that reason.

But there is another thing that is more serious than this. I see here in the bill that an additional bonus is to be paid to the men who come back into the Navy, having been heretofore discharged. A bonus of four months' pay is to be given them, a bonus for men to come back into the Navy, and yet no additional bonus is given to the boys who served during the war, when there was real need for men, a need much more acute than now. They must be content with the \$60 which they have already received.

The very first thing I did following the armistice, at the session of Congress which began on December 1, 1918, was to introduce a bill to give to each honorably discharged soldier and sailor \$180, or six months' pay. That bill was not allowed to come before the House. All the boys got was a miserly \$60, not enough to buy a civilian outfit. Those now responsible for

legislation in the House do not intend that any such measure shall come before this House. They do not purpose to give the House a chance to vote on the question whether we will give to these boys who served their country in the war a respectable bonus. They have decided for this House, in the committee room and in the secret caucus, that no recognition shall be given by way of bonus to the men who served their country in the Great War.

I object to that and am compelled to protest against it, though my voice be never so feeble. Had we given to these boys, at the time this matter was first brought forward, a reasonable and respectable bonus, the matter would have been ended forever; but we whittled them down to \$60, a mere pittance, and turned them loose; and now we will have the matter coming up and up again, and agitation going on all over the country, with propositions to pay bonuses of extravagant amounts.

But that there should be some additional bonus allowed, I challenge any Member of the House to deny. No man dare take the position before the country that these men who served on the front line and upon the tossing billows should not have some recognition beyond the little pay which they received. Nobody dares do that. Yet there are those who dare in the privacy of the committee room and in secret caucus to refuse to allow the House of Representatives, which is authorized to speak for the people of the United States, an opportunity to consider or to take any action upon that question.

I leave it to those who are responsible for such action to answer first to their consciences. We sat in our comfortable seats; these boys went overseas and risked their lives. Then I ask these men, when they have answered to their consciences, to answer their constituency and the people of America at large, why, oh why, they are so niggardly with the men who actually went to the front? They have been willing, practically all of them, to vote to take care of war contractors, to make good any business losses that have been sustained. They have been tender with business. They have been, oh, never so regardful of property rights. But what respect have they shown for human rights—what respect to the boys who made their sacrifices in France?

I want to say now, for myself, that no measure for the relief of these men will be presented on the floor of this House to which I will not be willing to give adherence. I would be willing, if necessary, to pay out of my own pocket not merely my per capita share but according to my means and ability to pay whatever may be found necessary.

I would think I got off light—I, who stayed at home in a safe place and slept in bed and had good food and enjoyed the love and society of my family and friends—I should think that I got off light if I gave my whole fortune for the benefit of those boys who went away, who risked their lives, who suffered every pang, and who, back at home now, get, many of them, small comfort and very small recognition.

Oh, we were glad to get them to go. "Brave, brave boys." And big business men shouted and said, "Go on to the front! You are heroes!" But when the boys came back they did little shouting. "The shouting and the tumult had died away." There were few to meet them at the station. They stole in quietly, as though they had been on a pleasure trip. When they meet them on the street many of those who lauded them on as "heroes" are afraid to look the discharged soldier in the eye for fear he will strike them for a job or perhaps ask for a cigarette.

Gentlemen, answer to your consciences, you who have charge of the responsibilities of this House and for its action. You must answer to the country for what may be done upon this matter.

Mr. Speaker, I yield five minutes to the gentleman from New York [Mr. PELL].

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from New York is recognized for five minutes.

Mr. PELL. Mr. Speaker, I expect to vote for this bill on the ground that almost any bill of this sort is better than none.

But it seems to me that a great mistake is being made in not including the commissioned officers, men who have been trained, whose training and education have cost the Government really great sums of money, who are in a position to-day, every man of them, to go out and draw a salary of two or three or four times as much as they are getting to-day from the United States.

These men are held in their places to-day by the traditions of the Navy and their own genuine patriotism. That loyalty which we have always had from our naval officers has been a thing in which every American should take a proper pride, and we have a right here to ask those men for loyalty. But we have not got a right to ask them for martyrdom. We have not

got the right to take men upon whom we impose tremendous responsibilities and place them in a position where it is quite impossible for them to live. An officer must live like a gentleman. He must spend a certain sum of money on appearances. He must keep his family properly. And it is to-day absolutely impossible for any officer to do so on his salary, and we are losing by resignation thousands of men every day who may some day be needed. Those men with their spirit, their training, and their organization can not easily be replaced. The time will come when this so-called economy will be shown to be the most terrific extravagance.

Mr. Speaker, I yield back the remainder of my time.

Mr. HUDDLESTON. Mr. Speaker, I yield five minutes to the gentleman from Texas [Mr. BLANTON].

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Texas is recognized for five minutes. The Chair discovers, on examination, that a gentleman to whom time is yielded can not yield to others except by unanimous consent.

Mr. HUDDLESTON. How much time have I consumed, Mr. Speaker?

The SPEAKER. The gentleman used eight minutes and the gentleman from New York [Mr. PELL] used two minutes.

Mr. HUDDLESTON. Before yielding to the gentleman from Texas [Mr. BLANTON], I will first yield three minutes to the gentleman from North Carolina [Mr. KITCHIN].

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from North Carolina is recognized for three minutes.

Mr. KITCHIN. Mr. Speaker, I am in favor of this bill. I understand that the reason why we had this peculiar rule a few moments ago is that, if you did not shut off debate and amendments, it was feared that some gentleman would offer an amendment to increase the appropriation in this bill—to put in higher salaries for the officers—and therefore they desired to pass this bill under a suspension of the rules, which would prevent all amendments.

If that was the purpose, it was very wise. I want to ask the gentleman from Wyoming [Mr. MONDELL] a question. I do not see him here now. Or I want to ask the committee this question: Is this really a sincere stand or position which the Republicans in the House are going to take, or is this bill cutting down the appropriations below the requests of the Navy Department some several million dollars simply a pretext in order to give the distinguished gentleman from Wyoming justification to issue his little weekly or semimonthly statements as to the great economy which this House is effecting? [Laughter.]

I am going to help you pass this bill. If I were on the committee I would have voted for it just as it is. But if we pass it and send it to the Senate, and then the Senate puts on five or six or ten million dollars additional for the increase of salaries of the commissioned officers and others in the Navy Department, are you going to stand by this bill and make the Senate back, or is it understood by the steering committee of the House, or by the distinguished gentleman from Wyoming, that when the Senate puts on an increased appropriation he will brag about what the House has done, and when it comes to dealing with this increased appropriation put on by the Senate, he will say, "We could not help it, we had to yield to the Senate; the Senate made us do it?"

What are you going to do about it? I am going to stand with you, and when the bill comes back from the Senate, if the Senate puts on an increased appropriation, if the House conferees will stand out I will help you make a fight to make the Senate for one time in its life back down. I believe that is the sentiment of the House. I am sure the naval conferees of this House will fight it out with them. I remember in the last session they fought it out and made the Senate yield on practically every proposition. Let us do it this time. [Applause.]

Mr. HUDDLESTON. I yield five minutes to the gentleman from Texas [Mr. BLANTON].

Mr. BLANTON. Mr. Speaker, under the Constitution of the United States, as construed by Congress, such a bill as this must originate in the House of Representatives. It could not come from the Senate. It must be passed here and start on its road to final passage in the House in order to become a law, thereby assuming that the membership of this House would have the right finally to perfect and frame its terms and provisions, and I submit that under the rule brought in here, under the procedure by which this legislation must be passed, requiring the House under whip and spur to pass this bill without change, without even the dotting of an "i" or the crossing of a "t," the committee, in justice to the membership of the House, should have amended the context of this bill. It should have amended the enacting clause of this bill where it says:

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled—



Because it is the creation of neither the House of Representatives, nor of the Congress of the United States. It should have stricken out "House of Representatives" and inserted in lieu thereof:

Be it enacted by the secret, silent, invisible steering committee of the Republican Party, whose names do not appear in the directory, whose names do not appear in the archives of Congress, who are unknown to the great majority of Congressmen, Republicans as well as Democrats, but yet who bring legislation in here already prepared to take \$10,000,000 out of the Treasury annually in the face of a possible \$3,000,000,000 deficit, with no possible chance to change it in the slightest particular.

That committee says to the Members of the House of Representatives, "We have no confidence in you to pass proper legislation. We have no confidence in the 400 other Representatives of the people drawing \$7,500 a year each from the Public Treasury. We do not know what you might do with this legislation. We are not even going to give you a chance to discuss it for more than 20 minutes on the floor of the House." That is why I find myself for one time in hearty accord with the gentleman from Alabama [Mr. HUDDLESTON] in the position just taken by him on this bill.

I am going to vote against this bill. Very likely increases should be granted, and I would vote for proper increases if we were permitted to discuss and frame this bill, but I do not believe this is the proper way to pass legislation. If it is, this all-powerful steering committee should bring in a bill here changing even the Constitution and the law under a special rule always available out of the hip pocket of the distinguished gentleman from Kansas [Mr. CAMPBELL], saying, "We will dispense with the balance of the membership of Congress and let all their salaries go to the steering committee, because we get better laws in that way. We can expect better legislation from the steering committee."

Mr. MOORE of Virginia. Who are the steering committee?

Mr. BLANTON. I am not surprised that the gentleman from Virginia asks that, because half of our majority colleagues on the Republican side of the House do not even know who they are, and were I to disclose their identity, and thus dispel some of the awful mystery surrounding them, such leaders might lose some of the power of their bull-whip; but we know what they are and why they are when we have legislation like this crammed down the throats of willing Members of the House of Representatives.

Mr. McKENZIE. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BLANTON. I wish I had more time, but I can not yield. There are some things to which I want to call attention. If there was a desire on the part of the gentleman from Wyoming [Mr. MONDELL] and his invisible committee to accomplish real economies, why does he not have the Naval Affairs Committee look into a proper reorganization of our Navy? Does the distinguished gentleman from Wyoming know that if he were to go out to a battleship to-day in one of our harbors and advise the petty officer meeting him that he must see the captain of that ship, how long it would take him to see him? Does he know how many splendid young men of our country would have to act as flunky go-betweens for the petty officers and lower-commissioned officers and high-commissioned officers and run hither and thither back and forth before he could get to the captain of that ship? Our naval officers have entirely too many white American servants in uniform waiting upon them, whose salaries are paid by the Government, and whose services are wholly unnecessary. They should be dispensed with and this money saved.

The SPEAKER. The time of the gentleman has expired.

By unanimous consent, Mr. BLANTON was given leave to revise and extend his remarks in the RECORD.

Mr. PADGETT. The gentleman from Michigan yielded to me his one minute.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Tennessee is recognized for one minute.

Mr. PADGETT. Mr. Speaker and gentlemen of the House, this bill was unanimously reported by the Committee on Naval Affairs. It should be passed, and I hope it will be passed by the unanimous vote of the House, because it is desperately needed. The committee were in favor of including the commissioned officers from ensign to captain, and had authorized a report of such a bill, but we could not get consideration of that bill, and this is all we could get consideration for, and we are taking the best that we can get. It should be adopted, because for lack of it the Navy is in a desperate condition as to its enlisted personnel. If an opportunity ever offers for increasing the pay of the officers during these abnormal times, I shall support it, and I hope this House will agree to it.

Mr. MONTAGUE. Will the gentleman yield for a question?

Mr. PADGETT. I shall be glad to yield if I have the time.

The SPEAKER. The time of the gentleman from Tennessee has expired.

Mr. MONDELL. Mr. Speaker, in view of the fact that my name has been mentioned several times in connection with this legislation, I ask unanimous consent that I have two minutes in which to address the House.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Wyoming asks unanimous consent to address the House for two minutes. Is there objection?

Mr. BLANTON. Mr. Speaker, I think the gentleman should have gotten that permission from the Rules Committee, and I object. [Laughter.]

The SPEAKER. Objection is made. The question is on suspending the rules and passing the bill.

The question being taken, Mr. BLANTON demanded a division.

Mr. KELLEY of Michigan. Mr. Speaker, I ask for the yeas and nays.

Mr. BLANTON. In order to help out the membership, I make the point of no quorum present.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman makes the point of no quorum present. Evidently there is no quorum present. The Sergeant at Arms will notify absent Members. The Doorkeeper will close the doors. As many as are in favor of suspending the rules and passing the bill will, when their names are called, vote "yea," those opposed "nay," and the Clerk will call the roll.

The question was taken; and there were—yeas 314, nays 9, not voting 105, as follows:

## YEAS—314.

Ackerman	Ellsworth	Kreider	Porter
Andrews, Md.	Elston	Lampert	Pou
Andrews, Nebr.	Emerson	Langley	Purnell
Ashbrook	Esch	Lanham	Radcliffe
Ayres	Evans, Mont.	Lankford	Rainey, Ala.
Bakka	Evans, Nev.	Layton	Rainey, H. T.
Baer	Fairfield	Lee, Calif.	Rainey, J. W.
Barbour	Fisher	Lee, Ga.	Raker
Barkley	Flood	Lehibach	Ramsey
Bee	Focht	Leshner	Ramseyer
Begg	Fordney	Linthicum	Randall, Calif.
Bell	Frear	Little	Randall, Wis.
Benham	Freeman	Loneragan	Rayburn
Benson	French	Longworth	Reavis
Black	Fuller, Ill.	Luce	Rhodes
Bland, Ind.	Gallagher	Lufkin	Ricketts
Bland, Mo.	Gandy	Luhling	Riddick
Bland, Va.	Ganly	McAndrews	Riordan
Boies	Gard	McArthur	Robinson, N. C.
Box	Garland	McDuffie	Robison, Ky.
Brand	Garner	McFadden	Rodenberg
Briggs	Glynn	McGlennon	Rogers
Brinson	Godwin, N. C.	McKenzie	Rose
Brooks, Pa.	Goldfogle	McKinley	Rouse
Browne	Goodwin, Ark.	McKinley	Rowe
Browning	Green, Iowa	McLane	Rubey
Brumbaugh	Greene, Mass.	McLaughlin, Mich.	Rucker
Buchanan	Griest	McLaughlin, Nebr.	Sanders, Ind.
Burke	Griffin	MacCrater	Sanford
Butler	Hadley	MacGregor	Schall
Byrnes, S. C.	Hardy, Colo.	Madden	Sears
Byrnes, Tenn.	Hardy, Tex.	Magee	Sells
Campbell, Kans.	Harrelld	Maher	Sherwood
Campbell, Pa.	Hastings	Major	Shreve
Cannon	Haugen	Mansfield	Sims
Cantrill	Hawley	Mapes	Sinclair
Carew	Hays	Mays	Sinnot
Cars	Heflin	Mead	Small
Chindblom	Hernandez	Merritt	Smith, Idaho
Clark, Mo.	Hersey	Michener	Smith, Ill.
Classon	Hersman	Miller	Smith, Mich.
Cleary	Hickey	Minahan, N. J.	Smithwick
Coady	Hicks	Mondell	Snell
Cole	Hoch	Montague	Snyder
Collier	Hoey	Mooney	Stedman
Connally	Holland	Moore, Ohio	Steenerson
Costello	Houghton	Moore, Va.	Stephens, Ohio
Crago	Howard	Moore, Ind.	Stevenson
Cramton	Hullings	Morgan	Strong, Kans.
Crisp	Hull, Iowa	Morin	Strong, Pa.
Cullen	Husted	Mott	Summers, Wash.
Currie, Mich.	Hutchinson	Mudd	Summers, Tex.
Curry, Calif.	Igoe	Murphy	Sweet
Dale	Ireland	Neely	Swope
Dallinger	James	Nelson, Mo.	Taylor, Ark.
Darrow	Johnson, Ky.	Nelson, Wis.	Taylor, Colo.
Davey	Johnson, Miss.	Newton, Minn.	Taylor, Tenn.
Davis, Minn.	Johnson, S. Dak.	Newton, Mo.	Thomas
Davis, Tenn.	Jones, Pa.	Nichols, Mich.	Tillman
Dempsey	Jones, Tex.	Nolan	Tilson
Denison	Juil	O'Connell	Timberlake
Dickinson, Mo.	Kearns	O'Connor	Tincher
Dickinson, Iowa	Keller	Ogden	Tinkham
Donovan	Kelley, Mich.	Oldfield	Vale
Dooling	Kelly, Pa.	Osborne	Venable
Doremus	Kendall	Overstreet	Vestal
Doughton	Kennedy, Iowa	Padgett	Vinson
Dowell	Kettner	Paige	Voigt
Dunbar	Kincheloe	Park	Volstead
Dunn	King	Parker	Walsh
Dyer	Kinkaid	Parrish	Walters
Eagan	Kitchin	Pell	Watson
Echols	Klecza	Peters	Weaver
Edmonds	Knutson	Phelan	Webster
Elliott	Kraus	Platt	Welty

Wheeler	Wilson, Ill.	Woods, Va.	Young, Tex.
White, Kans.	Wilson, La.	Wright	Zihlman
White, Me.	Wingo	Yates	
Williams	Wood, Ind.	Young, N. Dak.	

## NAYS—9.

Blanton	Good	Huddleston	Sisson
Clark, Fla.	Goodykoontz	Quin	Steagall
Dominick			

## NOT VOTING—105.

Almon	Evans, Nebr.	Kiess	Siegel
Anderson	Ferris	Larsen	Slemp
Anthony	Fess	Lazaro	Smith, N. Y.
Aswell	Fields	McClintic	Steele
Bacharach	Foster	McCulloch	Stephens, Miss.
Bankhead	Fuller, Mass.	McKeown	Stiness
Blackmon	Gallivan	McPherson	Stoll
Booher	Garrett	Mann, Ill.	Sullivan
Bowers	Goodall	Mann, S. C.	Tague
Britten	Gould	Martin	Temple
Brooks, Ill.	Graham, Pa.	Mason	Thompson
Burdick	Graham, Ill.	Monahan, Wis.	Towner
Burroughs	Greene, Vt.	Moon	Treadway
Caldwell	Hamill	Nichols, S. C.	Uphaw
Candler	Hamilton	Oliver	Vare
Caraway	Harrison	Olney	Ward
Carter	Hayden	Reber	Wason
Casey	Hill	Reed, N. Y.	Watkins
Christopherson	Hudspeth	Reed, W. Va.	Welling
Cooper	Hull, Tenn.	Romjue	Whaley
Copley	Humphreys	Rowan	Wilson, Pa.
Crowther	Jacoway	Sabath	Winslow
Dent	Jefferis	Sanders, La.	Wise
Dewalt	Johnson, Wash.	Sanders, N. Y.	Woodyard
Drane	Johnston, N. Y.	Saunders, Va.	
Dupré	Kahn	Scott	
Eagle	Kennedy, R. I.	Scully	

So, two-thirds voting in the affirmative, the rules were suspended and the bill was passed.

The Clerk announced the following pairs:

Until further notice:

Mr. ANDERSON with Mr. WISE.

Mr. ANTHONY with Mr. WATKINS.

Mr. BACHARACH with Mr. STEPHENS of Mississippi.

Mr. BROOKS of Illinois with Mr. OLNEY.

Mr. CHRISTOPHERSON with Mr. BANKHEAD.

Mr. CROWTHER with Mr. BLACKMON.

Mr. FOSTER with Mr. BOOHER.

Mr. GOODALL with Mr. CALDWELL.

Mr. GREENE of Vermont with Mr. DRANE.

Mr. HAMILTON with Mr. DUPRÉ.

Mr. KIESS with Mr. FERRIS.

Mr. MCPHERSON with Mr. JACOWAY.

Mr. SANDERS of New York with Mr. JOHNSTON of New York.

Mr. TEMPLE with Mr. MCKEOWN.

Mr. TILSON with Mr. MOON.

Mr. TOWNER with Mr. MANN of South Carolina.

Mr. WINSLOW with Mr. OLIVER.

Mr. WOODYARD with Mr. MCCLINTIC.

## DIPLOMATIC AND CONSULAR APPROPRIATION BILL.

Mr. PORTER. Mr. Speaker, I move that the House resolve itself into the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union for the consideration of the bill (H. R. 11960) making appropriations for the Diplomatic and Consular Service for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1921. Pending that, I ask the gentleman from Virginia how long he desires for general debate?

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, I have had demands over here for two hours' time. I suggest two hours on a side.

Mr. PORTER. That will be satisfactory to us. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that general debate be limited to four hours, one-half to be controlled by the gentleman from Virginia and one-half by myself.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Pennsylvania asks unanimous consent that general debate on this bill be limited to four hours, one-half to be controlled by himself and one-half by the gentleman from Virginia [Mr. Flood]. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

The SPEAKER. The question is on the motion of the gentleman from Pennsylvania that the House resolve itself into the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union for the consideration of the Diplomatic and Consular appropriation bill.

The motion was agreed to.

Accordingly the House resolved itself into the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union for the consideration of the Diplomatic and Consular appropriation bill, with Mr. MADDEN in the chair.

The Clerk reported the title of the bill.

Mr. PORTER. Mr. Chairman, the pending appropriation bill provides for the expenditure of \$8,843,037.91 for the payment of

expenses of our foreign intercourse during the fiscal year ending June 30, 1921. It is \$1,122,073.76 less than the appropriation for the current fiscal year and \$3,070,125 less than the estimates submitted by the department. If there be added to this amount the deficiency bills so far passed for this service, amounting to \$844,140.28, there will be a total of \$1,966,214.04 less expended during the fiscal year ending June 30, 1921, in case there is no deficiency legislation.

Your committee realizes fully the necessity of rigid economy and has cut the department estimates to a point where further reduction would cripple and weaken the service. It is confident that our foreign intercourse can be carried on according to a high standard of efficiency with the amounts carried in the items of the bill, notwithstanding the fact that the war has placed us in a position of economic potency quite equal to that which the Central Powers hoped to obtain by conquest. It is a fact that the pending bill is larger than the prewar appropriation law of 1915, but this Great War has worked such extraordinary changes, both economic and political, in our relations with the countries of the world that the prewar policy in relation to foreign intercourse must be partially, if not wholly, abandoned. The greater portion of the world now finds its financial condition seriously impaired, its productive forces greatly weakened, and its inhabitants unsettled, dissatisfied, and in many instances in open rebellion against constituted authority; in fact, the economic, industrial, social, and political poise of the world has been upset and deranged. Our present machinery of government for dealing with foreign relations is in need of complete reorganization. It was effective in the past. It is not calculated to meet the intricate and perplexing problems that now confront us. It will be necessary in the reorganization to bring the economic and political questions together, as the latter now depends on the former, so that political and economic information may be considered jointly and used on the basis of the results attained by binding them together.

In the prewar period we were a debtor nation; to-day we are the largest creditor nation in the world. We hold the bonds or other evidences of indebtedness of a number of the recent belligerents in the enormous sum of \$10,000,000,000, upon which the interest is in default. We have claims in the process of adjustment against the recent belligerents which arose during our period of neutrality of over \$1,000,000,000, exclusive of the claims of our citizens against the Mexican Government. There are two ways for the adjustment of these claims, either through diplomatic channels or the appointment of commissions. The former is unquestionably preferable, as the history of commissions is largely a history of exasperating delays.

We have to-day almost a complete monopoly of the gold supply of the world. We furnish the world's industries with a large share of raw materials, and our exports of manufactured goods have also increased enormously. The total value of imports for the year of 1914 was \$1,789,276,001; the total value of imports for the first 11 months of 1919 was \$3,523,772,899. The total value of exports for the year of 1914 was \$2,113,624,050; the total value of exports for the first 11 months of 1919 was \$7,242,045,798. The merchant marine of the United States since 1914 has increased 62.79 per cent. In 1914 the total American gross tonnage was 7,928,688; in 1919 it had increased to 12,907,300, to which should be added 690 Government-owned ships delivered from the close of the fiscal year of 1919 to December 31, 1919, totaling 2,151,852 gross tons, or a grand total of 15,059,152 gross tons.

Inasmuch as American-owned vessels plying between American ports do not need the assistance of our consulates the tonnage of these vessels should be deducted from the estimate above given. Many of them are engaged a part of the time in plying between American ports and at other times in the overseas trade. It is therefore impossible to secure with any degree of accuracy the exact amount of this reduction. I submit herewith an illuminating chart showing the percentage of exports and imports carried in American bottoms since 1789. It is interesting to note that the minimum of 9 per cent was reached in 1910, and that as a result of the war activities it has now increased to 26.4 per cent, and when vessels now under construction by the United States Shipping Board are completed and delivered will reach 40 per cent.

This enormous increase in tonnage of ships flying the American flag which carry the products of our factories and farms to the markets of the world, and these increased exports and imports, add very materially to the duties of our consuls, as a ship seldom stops at a port without receiving assistance of our representative, and they are persuasive evidence against cutting the estimates for consulates more than we have done. The fact that the fees collected at the consulates makes the service



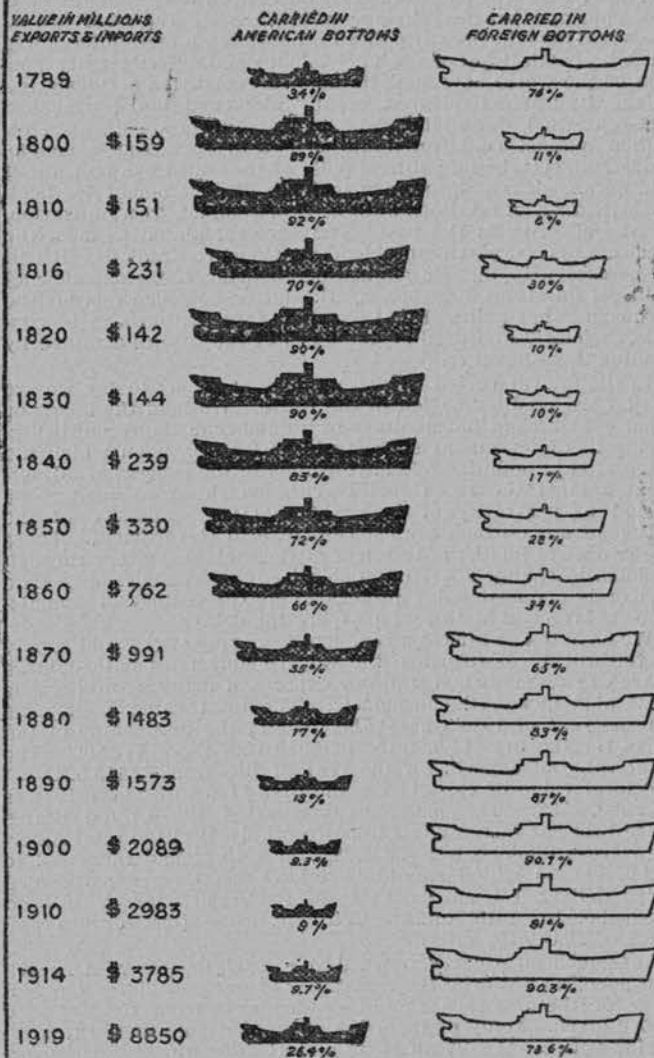
largely self-supporting is in itself sufficient justification for the appropriation.

Before the war there was no difficulty about the rate of exchange; to-day the problem is perplexing the ablest financiers of the world. The adjustment of this is undoubtedly more important to us than any other nation, with the possible exception of Great Britain; otherwise we will not be assured of payment for the merchandise which we sell to the people of foreign countries, and our efforts to take advantage of our present opportunities to increase our foreign trade will be wholly thwarted.

## U.S. SHIPPING IN FOREIGN TRADE

PERCENTAGE BY VALUE CARRIED IN AMERICAN BOTTOMS

PERCENTAGE BY VALUE CARRIED IN FOREIGN BOTTOMS



In the adjustment of this rate of exchange it may be necessary for us to give assistance to nations which are in financial distress, but I do not think we are justified in making them any more loans. I am perfectly willing to help these nations to walk, but I am not willing to have the already overburdened American taxpayer walk for them. We must impress upon Europe by this stern policy that more work and less bolshevism is the only remedy for her economic and political ills.

War is still going on in Russia and Siberia; Turkey and Mexico are completely disorganized and in a state of ferment and rebellion; and the relations between this country and the Central Powers have not so far been restored.

In the prewar period the peoples of the world were happy, contented, and reasonably prosperous; to-day there is a spirit of unrest that threatens the very foundations of organized society. The United States, with her beneficent government and great

wealth, is the only safe anchor for civilization, and if we fail to discharge the plain duty which destiny, perhaps, has placed upon us, civilization may perish from the earth.

Before the war Congress gave little, if any, attention to the ascertainment of political and economic conditions in foreign countries. During the war we spent large sums of money for these purposes and were richly rewarded for our efforts. The appropriation for the emergency fund for the current fiscal year is \$700,000. A number of the members of this committee felt that it should remain in this amount, but it was finally agreed to reduce it to the sum of \$400,000. It is important, in fact more important, for this Government to keep itself fully informed of the changes now taking place almost daily in the political and economic conditions of many European and Asiatic countries than it was during the period of actual warfare.

The estates of American citizens in China are administered in the United States Court for China. They do not pay an inheritance tax to the Federal Government. Your committee felt it advisable to extend this tax to these estates so that the Government would receive the revenue without regard to the place of death.

These are the considerations which moved your committee to abandon, in part at least, the prewar appropriations and to maintain with material reductions, however, the war appropriations for our foreign intercourse. It may be that the ratification of the treaty of peace will aid in the solution of these great problems, but your committee does not think it prudent or wise to appropriate upon any such assumption. [Applause.]

Mr. BLANTON. Mr. Chairman, should not the gentleman reserve his time?

Mr. PORTER. Mr. Chairman, I reserve the remainder of my time and yield 10 minutes to the gentleman from Nebraska [Mr. REAVIS].

Mr. REAVIS. Mr. Chairman and gentlemen of the committee, I want to distinctly disavow in what I have to say any disposition or desire to attack the Federal reserve banking system as a system. I have always approved the legislation which created that organization. I have always looked upon it as one of the constructive measures of this administration whose contributions to the country in the time of war are almost beyond computation. I have no complaint or quarrel with the system as a system, but I have become convinced in my own mind that many of the agents and employees of the regional banks have started on a policy of oppression toward State banks that can work only disaster. For some time I have been receiving letters from various portions of my own State criticizing the officers and agents of the regional bank at Kansas City in their attempts to control the affairs of the Nebraska State banks. These letters have been more or less infrequent until the last six weeks, since which time scarcely a day has gone by that some one has not written me, some State banker, some officer in some State bank, in respect to the unconscionable conduct of some of the agents and employees of these regional banks. Inasmuch as I am not fully informed I have no desire or intention to discuss the merits of the controversy between them. The matter that I want to bring to the attention of the House is the attempted coercion of the State banks to compel them to adopt a system that the State bankers are not willing to adopt. These State banks are the creation of State legislation. They are answerable only to State law and State authority. There is nothing in the Federal law creating the reserve system that grants any power to the regional banks or the Federal Reserve Board over the conduct of State banks. Yet I have received letters showing that the officers and agents of the regional banks in Kansas City, because some State banker in a small town would not be obedient to their commands, because some bank would not conduct its business in harmony with the ideas of the officers of the Federal reserve bank, have gathered together as high as \$41,000 in checks on the bank in a small town and have sent employees to that bank in an automobile and demanded cash on the checks in legal tender. That is an oppression that is likely to close a bank. It amounts almost to a conspiracy to wreck a bank, and it is about time somebody should be prosecuted for that sort of conduct.

Mr. GARNER. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. REAVIS. Yes.

Mr. GARNER. Can not the Federal Reserve Board here correct that evil?

Mr. REAVIS. I have written twice to the Federal Reserve Board. I wonder if I may be permitted to read a letter which reached me yesterday?

Mr. GARNER. What reply did the gentleman get from the Federal Reserve Board?

Mr. REAVIS. Just the ordinary stereotype reply that the matter would be looked into.

Mr. GARNER. And how long is it since the gentleman wrote?

Mr. REAVIS. Two or three weeks.

Mr. GARNER. This same complaint is coming to other Members of Congress.

Mr. REAVIS. It is almost universal among the Members of Congress. It is coming from all sections.

Mr. GARNER. With reference to the oppression being brought against State banks by these regional banks.

Mr. REAVIS. I want to read a letter which I received yesterday from one of the most prominent bankers of a small State bank in my State. I know nothing of the facts which he relates here, but I have known the gentleman for many years, and any statement of facts he makes I would be willing to vouch for. I shall omit the name of the banker and the institution with which he is connected, because I do not want him to be submitted to further persecution, and also some little personal reference in the letter. Otherwise the letter is as follows:

JANUARY 20, 1920.

Hon. FRANK C. REAVIS,  
House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: We want to call your attention to the arbitrary methods employed by the Federal reserve banks in trying to force all banks to conform to their methods of doing business.

There was a meeting of the State Bankers' Association in Omaha this week, which we attended, and we find that all the bankers of the State are having the same experience. In one town—Pierce, Nebr.—this State, we understand that representatives of the Federal banks saved up enough checks until they had an aggregate of \$41,000, and then went up in an automobile and demanded the cash for these checks.

We had a representative of the Federal reserve bank in our own bank within the last two months who told us that he would bring us checks here and in large amounts and he would demand legal tender and he would show us whether we would refuse to do what they wanted us to or not. He tried to browbeat us and said that he would make it hot for us, that they would make us do as they wish. If we employed this method of doing business with our fellow bankers and save up checks and go to a bank and try to force them to pay us the cash for a lot of checks that we had saved up on them, we surely would be liable to the law under a conspiracy act of trying to break the bank, and that is in effect what the Federal reserve bank is trying to do with the State banks who do not conform to their way of doing business.

I am even informed that at Pierce, Nebr., they have a man on the ground trying to start a national bank in order to force the other banks to terms. This is a great situation in free America, where we can have institutions supported by the Federal Government that is going into private business and trying to enforce methods onto other banks by such tactics. We ask that you take this matter up with the proper authorities and call the attention of Congress to the matter.

We are free-born American citizens and object to such methods in any line of the Government or in anyone. It is beginning to be that the Government seems to want to take charge of all our affairs in every way, and we think it is time to call a halt in the matter, not only in this matter of the Federal Reserve Board but in a good many other boards that have been created when there is no necessity of them.

We want the strictest laws against combinations and trusts and the like, and then let the laws of supply and demand take their course. Too many dictators in every line of business being created.

The town of Pierce, Nebr., is a small town, and the bank in the town necessarily must be small.

The conduct referred to with respect to that bank would swamp any small State bank in the Nation; and it was evidently done for that purpose, to coerce and oppress these men until from fear of the consequences they would become obedient to the organization which under the law has no control over them at all.

Mr. STEVENSON. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. REAVIS. I am afraid that I will not have the time.

Mr. STEVENSON. I just want to ask what is the thing that they want them to do? Is not this the situation? Is it not where banks are charging exchange for remitting their own checks that the desire arises, and whenever they will not remit for their own checks without charging exchange the banks who get them for collection are sending them through and making them pay them over the counter?

Mr. REAVIS. I do not know the controversy out of which this arises, but I do know this, that the Federal Reserve System created under the national law has no right legally or morally to coerce and force by oppression a State institution to do their will. I will say further that if such reprehensible conduct is continued I shall do my best to see that legislation ample to protect State institutions is enacted.

Mr. STEVENSON. Now, Mr. Chairman, I desire an answer from the gentleman. He says they are trying to make them do something. What is the thing they are trying to make them do? Are they trying to get them to remit their own checks, or what is it?

Mr. REAVIS. It is not indicated, but I think the controversy arises from the charging of exchange on checks. I am equally certain the time has come to indicate to the Federal Reserve System that Congress, having in its heart the instincts of fair play, is determined that these State institutions shall not be unnecessarily oppressed by the great Federal banking institutions.

Mr. DENISON. Is not what they are trying to do to compel the State banks to come in under the Federal Reserve System?

Mr. REAVIS. There is no question about it. It is an effort to coerce State banks into a great centralized banking institution under Federal control.

Mr. DENISON. I think if the gentleman will take time to investigate he will find it originates in Washington.

Mr. REAVIS. I am not going to make the charge. I have mentally drawn deductions, but they are merely deductions, and I do not wish to reflect on anybody. But I wish to express my opposition to things of this kind.

Within the last few weeks there has been a special meeting of all the State bankers of my State, a special convention, to consider this very proposition. They have been compelled to employ counsel to defend their right to do business under a State law, and to protect their institutions from oppression and the coercion of the Federal reserve banks.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Nebraska has expired.

Mr. REAVIS. I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks by the publication of the letter referred to and the resolutions adopted at a special meeting of all the State bankers of Nebraska, in which are cited the acts of oppression, and from which they desire protection.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection? [After a pause.] The Chair hears none.

The following are the resolutions referred to:

Resolutions unanimously adopted at a special meeting of State bankers of Nebraska held at Omaha January 14, 1920.

1. Whereas the Federal Reserve Bank of Kansas City and its branch at Omaha have served notice upon the State banks of Nebraska, which are nonmembers of the Federal Reserve System, that on January 15 all towns in Nebraska will be listed as par points, irrespective of the consent of the banks in such matter; and

2. Whereas the said Federal reserve bank, through its branch and representatives, has threatened in the event of refusal of the State banks to render the service of remitting for checks without a reasonable compensation to present such items for payment through the express companies or messengers and demand payment thereof in cash at par, and in event of noncompliance with such demand to protest such items; and

3. Whereas the said Federal reserve bank, through its branch and representatives, has held for an unreasonable time (in defiance of well-established usage and custom and in defiance of a decision of the Nebraska Supreme Court that a bank check must be promptly presented) checks on Nebraska State banks until an important aggregate has been accumulated and has then demanded payment in cash through messenger or express company, for the very evident purpose of intimidating and embarrassing payee banks; has in case of refusal to comply with this demand threatened and is now actually attempting to organize national banks in towns already amply supplied with banks whose patrons make no complaint of existing rules and practices; has protested checks which were not legally subject to protest; and in numerous other and undignified ways is attempting to discredit the standing of nonmember banks with their patrons.

4. Therefore be it resolved, That in our judgment such demands and methods are unwarranted by law, a distinct departure from well-established customs, and an unjustifiable invasion of the legal rights of State institutions by the Federal Reserve Board, which has no jurisdiction whatever over State banks.

5. Be it further resolved, That we pledge ourselves to resist in every legitimate way such demands and practices and endeavor to preserve for our institutions the rights guaranteed under the laws of our State.

6. Be it further resolved, That the committee of three appointed by the chairman of this meeting be given full authority to act for the nonmember State banks of Nebraska to carry out their wishes, to employ counsel, to make assessments against said banks to defray any expenses incurred, and to take whatever other action they may deem necessary to secure the relief sought, and to act in cooperation with similar committees in other States.

7. Be it further resolved, That we respectfully request the cooperation of our city correspondents in this matter, and will look with disfavor upon said correspondent banks if they assume an attitude to the contrary.

8. Be it further resolved, That we recommend that all nonmember banks which have agreed to par items for the Federal reserve bank be, and are hereby, requested to recall such agreement promptly.

9. Be it further resolved, That our Representatives in Congress be requested to demand an investigation of the acts and practices of the Federal Reserve Board and their representatives in relation to this matter.

10. Be it further resolved, That a copy of these resolutions be mailed to every State bank in Nebraska, the Federal reserve bank, our Representatives in Congress, and the official representatives of State banks in all other States.

11. Be it further resolved, That our thanks be extended to President H. K. Frantz and Secretary William B. Hughes, of the Nebraska Bankers' Association, for making the arrangements for this meeting and to the Omaha banks for the entertainment provided.

#### MESSAGE FROM THE SENATE.

The committee informally rose; and Mr. PAIGE having taken the chair as Speaker pro tempore, a message from the Senate, by Mr. Craven, one of its clerks, announced that the Senate had passed bill of the following title, in which the concurrence of the House of Representatives was requested:

S. 411. An act to confer jurisdiction of the Court of Claims to certify certain findings of fact, and for other purposes.

#### DIPLOMATIC AND CONSULAR APPROPRIATION BILL.

The committee resumed its session.

Mr. CONNALLY. Mr. Chairman and gentlemen of the committee, on the 3d of March, 1919, in the closing hours of the



Sixty-fifth Congress, the House of Representatives passed a resolution earnestly requesting the peace conference when passing upon the rights of various peoples to give consideration to the claims of Ireland. At a later date the Senate of the United States adopted a similar resolution. During the consideration of this matter in the House some of you may recall that I opposed its passage and sought to point out that the only probable result of that measure would be to offend a friendly power, and that it would in no wise cause the peace conference to assume jurisdiction of the question of the Irish republic. Of course, all of us now know that that result has come to pass. We now know—

Mr. FLOOD. I would like to know the gentleman's authority for saying the passage of that resolution offended a friendly power. I read a statement from Mr. Lloyd-George in the House of Commons, in which he said that resolution was inoffensive to Great Britain. I do not know, therefore, what friendly power the gentleman is referring to.

Mr. CONNALLY. I will say to the gentleman from Virginia that those of us who tried to keep up through the press with the manner in which our action on the resolution was received in Great Britain could not have failed to note in press dispatches that it was not received very graciously by the British press. I do not recall what Mr. Lloyd-George said and I do not take issue with the gentleman from Virginia as to what he said. I perhaps used language a moment ago that was not chosen with due discrimination if I said that it had offended. I should have, perhaps, said that I sought to point out that it was calculated to offend a great power.

But all of us do now know that the passage of that resolution did not have the effect of causing the peace conference to take up the question of Irish independence. One of the results of that action on our part, however, was to give undue encouragement to certain elements within this country who prey upon the credulity and enthusiasm of those groups of our citizens of Irish blood. The peace conference not having given consideration to the Irish question and Great Britain not having immediately recognized the independence of Ireland, we are now confronted in this House with a bill introduced by the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. MASON], now pending before the Republican Committee on Foreign Affairs, in which it is proposed that Congress shall appropriate money to defray the expenses of a minister and a corps of consuls to the Irish republic.

Mr. BROWNE. Will the gentleman yield for a question?

Mr. CONNALLY. I will be glad to do so.

Mr. BROWNE. I wondered why the gentleman termed the Committee on Foreign Affairs as a Republican committee?

Mr. CONNALLY. You are in charge. You are in the majority.

Mr. BROWNE. You are a member of it, are you not?

Mr. CONNALLY. To be sure I am, but I do not control the committee. If the gentleman from Wisconsin seeks to disavow the fact that the majority is in control in this House and in the Committee on Foreign Affairs, as it is in every other committee of this House, I shall be quite willing to put that disavowal into truth after the next election.

Mr. BROWNE. The practice has been for Republican committees to be nonpartisan, but I see that the gentleman thinks that a committee is either Republican or Democratic from his partisan view.

Mr. CONNALLY. The gentleman from Wisconsin is unduly sensitive about this matter. I want to say to him and to others that, while I am frank to confess that I can not, except with great difficulty, believe that a Republican Congress is seriously considering the question of the passage of the bill, yet I am convinced that it is being sought by the majority party now, as it has been sought in the past, to try to make those portions of our citizenship which are of Irish blood believe that the Republican Party is in favor of the bill. A very unusual proposition is here presented. We are urged to send an ambassador to the republic of Ireland, and by so doing to recognize the putative Irish republic as a functioning and operating government. We are solemnly asked to officially challenge the authority and Government of Great Britain in so far as they apply to the island of Ireland. It is proposed that the Congress of the United States, speaking for the American people, shall say to Great Britain that the United States no longer recognizes Ireland as a part of the British dominions, but that henceforth our Government shall transact its diplomatic intercourse affecting matters pertaining to Ireland not through the ambassador at London but through a diplomatic representative at Dublin.

This remarkable proposal is seriously suggested just as we are laying aside our arms so recently employed in the greatest conflict that ever shook the foundations of ordered society or taxed all the resources and energies of republican governments

and in which our own efforts were linked with those of Great Britain. I can not believe that the Congress will, and I know that the people of the United States do not, look with approval upon this unfortunate and mischievous measure.

The real temper and purpose of the more prominent protagonists of this bill may be ascertained somewhat from the attitude of Judge Cohalan of New York, who appeared before the Committee on Foreign Affairs in the hearings shortly before Christmas. While I said a moment ago that I could not seriously believe that the Republican House would undertake to pass this measure, yet the very fact that for two days the committee held open hearings on the bill has given weight to the suspicion that the Republican Party is seeking to create the impression among the Irish citizenship of this country that it sympathizes with the bill.

Judge Cohalan, while before the committee, was interrogated. I asked him questions, and as a result the following dialogue took place:

Mr. CONNALLY. Let me ask you this further question, as an American citizen: Supposing we should pass this resolution and Great Britain should take offense at it, and our action should eventuate in war; as an American citizen, would you be willing for America to go to war to maintain the freedom of Ireland?

Judge COHALAN. In any contingency, whether we were weak or strong, when a situation has been presented to the American people that appears to them to be just, I have never found any red-blooded American citizen who was not in favor of doing that which would maintain justice, even though it would bring war. [Applause.]

Mr. CONNALLY. Then, I understand you to answer my question in the affirmative?

Judge COHALAN. Undoubtedly, under those circumstances.

Mr. CONNALLY. That you are willing for the United States, if her action in this regard should eventuate in war with Great Britain—that you are in favor of going to war with Great Britain to liberate Ireland?

Judge COHALAN. I will put it this way—

Mr. CONNALLY. My question was very direct.

Judge COHALAN. I am going to answer squarely, yes.

Mr. CONNALLY. Judging from the applause, there was not any question about what the audience took my question to imply.

Judge COHALAN. I am going to answer your question, and there will not be any doubt as to my reply. At this time, from conditions over there and from a close study of English history and from a knowledge of what confronts the ruling class of Great Britain to-day, when they are almost face to face with internal revolution, when the masses are demanding not only a share in the Government, but control of the Government, as they never have at any previous time, I say that, in my opinion, we would never be faced with any such contingency as that; but in the face of that I insist and reiterate that, as an American citizen, I would be in favor absolutely of doing that which was just. [Applause.]

It will be noted that when at last Judge Cohalan was held to make answer to the specific question as to whether he would be willing for the United States to risk the issue of war with another power to serve the Irish cause he unblushingly, though reluctantly, admitted that to be the opinion to which he held. While this Irish patriot remains here at home safe and secure, he avows it to be his will that American boys shall die on the high seas and their bodies be devoured by the monsters of the deep, or that others of them shall die in cold and cheerless trenches, or that others may bake and bleach on burning battle fields, if his own political purposes may be served here in America. He is perfectly willing and seems to view without alarm the fact that by his incitement brave and rash Irishmen in Ireland may rise in riot, only to meet useless and tragic death. If he here in America may ingratiate himself into the confidence and the affection of the Irish voters, may appeal to their imagination as the apostle of Irish freedom, he is indifferent as to possible consequences.

A short time ago the press carried a statement that Mr. Eamon de Valera, advertised as the "president of the Irish republic," would speak in the city of Washington. I heard his utterances on that occasion. I heard him, in attempting to repel the charge that certain elements in Ireland had been unfriendly to the cause of the Allies, undertake to deny it, but in doing so he used substantially the following language:

Ireland was at war with but one nation. That was the one with which she had been at war for 750 years.

Let us for a moment analyze the language which was thus employed. It can not be doubted that if "Ireland was at war with but one nation," then she was, at least in spirit, at war. Was she at war with the German Empire or with Austria-Hungary, or with Bulgaria, or with Turkey? It could not have been with one of these powers, for neither of them has for 750 years been at war with Ireland. There can be no escape from the conclusion that Ireland, at least in spirit—the Ireland of Mr. de Valera and the "republic" of which he is the putative president, not the Ireland of all the Irish people, but this Ireland of which he pretends to be the titular head—was hostile to the success of Great Britain in the struggle which has just come to a close.

If the Irish republic of Mr. de Valera was at war with Great Britain, she was hostile to our own purposes, because both in the test of battle on sea and in the clash of arms on land our

interests were the interests of the Allies; our allies were Great Britain's allies, our friends were her friends, and her enemies were our enemies. And this, according to the "president of the Irish republic," was the attitude of those whom he represents. I am informed that the "president," De Valera, is an American citizen. If so, he values very lightly that proud status.

Mr. MOORES of Indiana. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield for a question?

Mr. CONNALLY. Yes.

Mr. MOORES of Indiana. I would like to know if he has ever taken the oath of allegiance to the British Government?

Mr. CONNALLY. I am not informed. The gentleman will have to ask some one else about that. But in so far as the matter affects my own convictions as to what this Congress should do, it is a matter of indifference whether he is a native-born expatriate or still an American citizen. In either event he sets little value on the citizenship he once enjoyed if he does not now enjoy it. He is willing to alienate and expatriate himself and surrender a status which usually proudly confers privileges greater than under any flag that flies, and is willing to become an alien in fact as well as he is in thought.

Some days ago a statement appeared in the public press to the effect that a campaign had been launched in New York for the purpose of floating a \$10,000,000 bond issue for the "Irish republic." From the enthusiastic and credulous people of Irish blood, with their passions aroused by oratory and dramatics, these funds will be carefully collected, no doubt. It is not beyond the range of probability, however, that they will be expended in propaganda and in the exploitation of self-appointed leaders here in the United States. Mr. de Valera, as long as he is in the United States as an individual, as long as he respects the laws of this country and those considerations which should be suggested by the hospitality which he enjoys, is welcome, but when he parades himself around over this country pretending to be the "president of the Irish republic" he shows a lack of consideration for our own national interests and welfare. He is willing that we suffer embarrassment in order that reality may be given to his flimsy dreams, that his "presidency of the Irish republic" may be transmuted into actuality.

Mr. FAIRFIELD. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. CONNALLY. I shall be glad to yield.

Mr. FAIRFIELD. Does the gentleman believe that there is any action that could be taken by our own Government with reference to the activity of the "president of the Irish republic," or, in other words, is the thing that he is doing here, which you may say is against the interests of a friendly power, of such a nature that the executive part of our Government should take cognizance of it?

Mr. CONNALLY. I would say to the gentleman from Indiana that that is a legal question which I have not had occasion to examine, and I am sure that the gentleman from Indiana, on account of his scholarship, is quite as well if not better prepared to examine that question than the gentleman from Texas.

Now, let no one go from this presence with the statement on his lips that I am lacking in appreciation of the many admirable attributes of the Irish race. I am not forgetful of the generous and chivalric nature of that brave people. With a spirit and recklessness that excite the wonder of all men, they have struggled and died for what they have conceived to be their rights. Ireland's sons have with pen and sword inscribed their glory and heroism on every glowing page of modern history. Her sons have played a large and noble part in the making of America, while others have shed imperishable luster upon the British realm and have generously contributed of their genius to the improvement of her institutions. Her poets and playwrights have charmed the readers of the English language, and her orators at the bar and in Parliament have marvelously persuaded the reason and stirred and swayed the emotions. In sharp and striking contrast to the conduct of Cohalan and De Valera in America was the action of thousands of patriotic Irishmen in Ireland who volunteered and fought courageously in the armies of the Allies. It is pleasing to turn from the pictures of the former to look upon the gripping chapters of some of the most desperate engagements and campaigns of the war and to see written there in large letters the exploits and achievements of men of Irish blood. To them and to their valor we cheerfully accord an abundant measure of admiration.

I also embrace this opportunity to give assurance that I am no apologist for British rule in Ireland in the past. There can be no question of the unfortunate methods which have often been employed by Great Britain in dealing with that people. However, the British Parliament and ministers, prompted by their own national interests, seem disposed to devote their best energies to a solution of the Irish question. It is said that the

land act of 1903 has realized much of Parnell's dreams and has enabled the Irish farmers to purchase their land upon most favorable terms. While Great Britain is striving to bring to bear the best thought of the Empire to devise a plan of political autonomy for Ireland, no true friend of the Irish serves her well by inciting revolution and riot which can but bring tragedy and despair. Ireland, perhaps, if left alone by the agitators and strife breeders beyond her borders, who during the strife, the revolution, and riot which their efforts may bring about, may be trusted to remain safely out of the zone of fire, might realize home rule through the establishment of two parliaments coordinated and unified by a supreme council of Ireland. She might attain a dominion form of government similar to that of Canada or Australia, and while enjoying self-rule would lose nothing of her security by the protection of the British flag.

Under this state of affairs the real friend of the Irish people serves them poorly, and the real American serves America poorly, when he seeks, either intentionally or by incitation, which in its indirect effects may have the same result, to incite turbulence and terror among the Irish people.

Aside from the other angles from which this matter may be viewed, politics is playing a dominant part. The Republican Party has been, and is now, I believe, seeking to insinuate itself into the good graces of those elements of foreign extraction among whom it is believed that there still lingers an affection for foreign lands. I believe that for some time there has been an attempt to foment among them a dissatisfaction and a discontent with the manner in which our international affairs have been handled, for the sinister purpose of capitalizing that discontent in the impending election.

Now, you will perhaps recall that—not by direct statement but by implication and insinuation—those elements of our citizenship who are of Italian blood have been given to understand that the peace congress did not solve in a fair and proper manner the question of Fiume, and that within the party which is now in power in this House may be found their only friend. The Greek voters of the United States have been informed—not in black and white statement, perhaps, but nevertheless just as effectively informed—that Greece was not accorded as large a share of territory out of the spoils of victory as was her due. And even those of our citizens who are of German extraction were told in the Senate of the United States only a little while ago by a Senator of the same political persuasion as the majority of this House that the terms of peace, as imposed by the treaty, were too onerous; that they bore too heavily upon their kindred across the sea; and that complaint came from those who only a little while before the terms of peace had been made known had been clamoring for the most exacting terms, for a dictated peace—one that should grind the vanquished into the very dust.

And now, last and largest, because they have the most votes, the Irish are told that at Paris Ireland did not get its freedom, and by hints and nods and shrugs and winks they are insidiously urged to believe that the Republican Party is the party that wears the shamrock and the green nearest its heart. Gentlemen on the Republican side of the House, why do you not keep your implied promise to the Irish and bring out this bill and pass it or else do your duty and kill it, so that there may be no doubt as to where this Congress stands on that measure? [Applause.] Oh, do not be deceived. Why does not that wonderful, noiseless, rubber-tired, ball-bearing steering committee of yours—

A MEMBER. Some one suggests "bearing." [Laughter.]

Mr. CONNALLY. Well, I know that it is bearing; not perhaps that which it ought to bear, but it is bearing nevertheless. Why does not that committee "that bloweth where no one listeth and no man knows whence it cometh or whither it goeth"—why does not that committee say something to its waiting and docile servitors so that you may know what to do with this measure? Has it come to pass that the telephone and the telegraph wires are down? Can you not get any communication from that magic man, Will Hayes, that political prestidigitator, from whose radiant personality comes that which the Republican House of Representatives is required to pass—this wonderful potentate, who both forecasts and recasts Republican legislative action? Oh, why do not you let the Irish know? Why do not you let the American public know what is to be done with this bill, introduced by a lifelong Republican and pending in the Foreign Affairs Committee since the 27th day of last May? Oh, dear Irish friends, do not be deceived. They want your votes. To kill this bill would disillusion you. Do not you see, dear friends? Nothing can be done now. Oh, dear American public, do not you see that they want your votes also? They need your votes also. Can not you see that they can do nothing now? Wait. Wait only a little while. To kill this bill as they should



would disillusion you. Now, both dear friends, can not you see why it is necessary to wink and smile and hint and nod and shrug and hoodwink both of you? [Laughter.]

So far as I am concerned, I repudiate and denounce appeals to class and faction in our land. Are we Americans legislating here for America or are we mere traffickers in votes, afraid to act upon a measure of this kind for fear it might offend some element of our citizenship or afraid that it might not be politically expedient?

Mr. KNUTSON. Does the gentleman repudiate and renounce the slogan, "He kept us out of war," which his party put forward in 1916 to catch the German vote?

Mr. CONNALLY. The gentleman wants to know if we renounce the slogan of 1916 that "He kept us out of war," and he says that was done to catch the German vote. No; I will tell you who renounced that. In the fall of 1918, in the congressional election, the Republican Party, of which the gentleman from Minnesota is the whip on that side of the House, renounced that doctrine and appealed to our citizenship, to every element that was dissatisfied with the declaration of war and with the conduct of the war—silently, perhaps, so far as the public was concerned, but nevertheless effectively—and in 1918 the gentleman's party received the advantage of the vote of every voter in this country who was dissatisfied with the declaration of war and with its conduct to which appeal could be made, and you capitalized it. Then, having learned to capitalize such elements of our citizenship, you are seeking to repeat that performance at this time. [Applause.]

If this Republic shall ever perish—and in the Providence of God may it always survive—it will probably fall through class strife, through the conflict of the classes, industrial or social or racial classes, or groups who view the whole question of the life or the death, of the survival or the dissolution of our system from the narrow and selfish horizon of their own supposed welfare, those whose views are so contracted by class or race as to preclude that broader vision of the welfare of the whole Nation.

As Representatives we do not possess the right to vote away the treasure and the lives of our countrymen as caprice or fancy or political expediency may dictate. There must exist some cause sufficient in law and morals to justify such a course. You and I are trustees for those vast powers, and for their keeping we are solely responsible. I can not view with patience an attempt to place my country in the attitude which the passage of this bill would inevitably create. I shall not needlessly affront our ally and cobelligerent. We shall neither fawn nor be afraid in her presence, but we can not withhold respect for her wonderful people and her vast contribution to civilization. While I should not surrender the least of our rights or compromise in the slightest degree our dignity to meet any demand on her part, I should not deny to her the same respectful treatment which I expect to always demand that she accord my own country. Still less am I constrained to do that which might be construed as an unfriendly and impertinent act that, if performed by her toward us, would rouse all the latent defiance of outraged pride.

Our country for more than 140 years has inspired and quickened throughout the world aspirations for liberty and self-government. She has not wrought that great result by meddling and interfering in the affairs of other nations, but by the example which she has set of justifying the claim to self-government, by vindicating the power of the people to govern themselves.

Her influence has reacted upon even the archaic monarchies of Europe and has brought to the peoples of England and France and Italy, of Spain, and at last of Germany and Austria, a large portion of liberty and a greater share in their governments. May that policy be pursued in the years to come, except where treaty obligations or clear and unmistakable national interests of our own make another course necessary or advisable.

Though we have just stepped from the stage of a frightful struggle with the world acclaim of victory still ringing in our ears, and while all about us the earth heaps its gratitude that our strength turned defeat into triumph and the night into glorious day; while the whole world, yet suffering from the agonies of that terrible conflict and her festering wounds, still feverish and inflamed, vividly recall the anguish and wretchedness which she has so lately suffered, earnestly longs for a peace that shall last; as we stand peering into the vast no man's land before us, we can not push our listening posts nor can we scatter our patrols far enough to discover all of the dangers that await us or all of the abysses of woe into which the passions of men or military or racial ambitions of nations may seek to plunge our country. While I trust that the pathway that lies ahead may never be crossed by a hostile power—that never again may America be summoned to lead her manhood and youth out upon the martial fields to meet

the shock of an enemy—if such a time ever does come—whether it be to test our strength with the unnumbered millions of the Far East or whether it be to repel the rising tide of anarchy and chaos set in motion by the disordered and maddened masses of Russia in an effort to engulf us in its pitiless and bottomless depths, I should entertain greater assurance of my country's safety in such a time of terrible trial had I the knowledge that she would enjoy the friendship even, if not the active assistance, of that great people whom I am unwilling to offend by the passage of this bill. Let no one in blindness or zeal for Irish freedom lessen the influence or impair the prestige of America, the one great Nation in whom is found the noblest champion of liberty on the globe.

Mr. PORTER. I yield 15 minutes to the gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. BROWNE].

Mr. BROWNE. Mr. Chairman and gentlemen of the committee, I desire to address myself to a bill that has been reported favorably by the Judiciary Committee known as the Graham bill, which I believe is one of the most important bills before the House of Representatives.

Mr. Chairman, I am a firm believer in freedom of speech and of the press and free assemblage. Free speech and freedom of the press are essential to democracy. Without these three great safeguards representative government would be impossible. I am opposed to the Graham bill, as reported by the Judiciary Committee, and whose advocates are now asking for a special rule to bring it before Congress, because I believe it to be an unjustifiable assault upon the rights and integrity of the press and the American people. Freedom of speech and of the press was realized after years of valiant fighting. In England King James denied the right of freedom of speech even in the Parliament. The American Colonies were denied freedom of speech, which was one of their greatest grievances against the English Government.

#### RELIGIOUS LIBERTY AND FREEDOM OF SPEECH GUARANTEED.

The first amendment to the Constitution of the United States proposed at the first meeting of the first Congress, on March 4, 1789, reads as follows:

Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion or prohibiting the free exercise thereof or abridging the freedom of speech or of the press or the right of the people peaceably to assemble.

The makers of the Constitution regarded freedom of speech and of the press as of such great importance to a free people in the maintenance of their freedom that they placed the right of freedom of speech and of the press beside the right to worship God according to the dictates of conscience.

#### SUFFICIENT LAWS ON THE SUBJECT.

My contention, Mr. Speaker, is that the existing sedition laws, which were placed on the statute books during the Civil War, are sufficient to meet present-day conditions. If they are not, they can be easily amended without repealing them and without endangering the sacred rights guaranteed us by the Constitution. It should also be remembered that each State has laws upon this subject to meet their own conditions.

The overwhelming majority of the American people believe in our institutions that have withstood the attacks of agitators for over a century. The United States has grown and prospered as no other nation ever has without the drastic censorship proposed by the Graham bill. Our institutions have grown stronger and, in my opinion, there has never been a time when the enthusiastic love of country was as general and spontaneous among the people as it is to-day. This was shown by the acquiescence to all laws, orders, and even suggestions promulgated during the war, and in the willingness of the people to aid in the various war activities.

#### DRASTIC SEDITION LAWS FAIL.

The only other time that freedom of speech or of the press or of the right of the people peaceably to assemble has been seriously questioned in the United States was by the passage of the alien and sedition laws in 1798. This legislation was quickly repealed, and the old Federalist Party, through whose efforts the law was passed, was swept from power forever by an indignant people.

The United States laws on the subject of sedition are taken from the Federal Penal Code of 1910, under Crimes, chapter 1, section 6.

#### Section 4, inciting, and so forth, rebellion or insurrection:

Whoever incites, sets on foot, assists, or engages in any rebellion or insurrection against the authorities of the United States or the laws thereof, or gives aid or comfort thereto, shall be imprisoned not more than 10 years or fined not more than \$10,000, or both; and shall, moreover, be incapacitated from holding any office under the United States.

#### Page 7, section 6, seditious conspiracy:

If two or more persons in any State or Territory, or in any place subject to the jurisdiction of the United States, conspire to overthrow, put down, or destroy by force the Government of the United States, or to

levy war against them, or to oppose by force the authority thereof, or by force to prevent, hinder, or delay the execution of any law of the United States, or by force to seize, take, or possess any property of the United States contrary to the authority thereof, they shall each be fined not more than \$5,000 or imprisoned not more than six years, or both.

The States all have statutes on the subject applicable to their conditions. Under our existing laws the anarchists, the communists, and the dangerous radicals have made very little headway in the last 50 years. In fact, the dangerous radical has made fewer converts in the United States than in any other country in the world.

Mr. BLANTON. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BROWNE. Yes.

Mr. BLANTON. Where a newspaper or a public speaker advocates the overthrow of this Government by force and violence, does the gentleman hold that that is a proper exercise of a constitutional prerogative?

Mr. BROWNE. I think that would be a violation of law, and I think it would come properly under our existing sedition laws.

Mr. BLANTON. The Attorney General says that he needs further law to meet the present emergency.

Mr. BROWNE. I read the statement of the Attorney General.

Mr. BLANTON. Does the gentleman know that copies of such publications as this one entitled *Freedom*, a journal of constructive anarchy, which preaches anarchy, and the violent overthrow of this Government, are to-day and have been for months circulated through our mails, in the very face of the law of our country, and that under the present law our Government is powerless to stop it? Is the gentleman willing to have such a condition exist in this Government, where the Attorney General and the other law-enforcing officials of the Government have to be guarded to prevent their assassination in their home country of the United States? Is the gentleman willing to let that go on?

Mr. BROWNE. In answer to the gentleman's question I will say that I am giving the law as it exists now in the United States and in the several States, and that I think those laws, if they are enforced as they should be, will cover such cases. Now, I understand the Attorney General himself is quoted in the papers as not favoring this bill.

Mr. BLANTON. But he does favor a sedition law.

Mr. BROWNE. I am not speaking against sedition laws. We have got to take up and discuss them as they are reported by the committee. There is too much general talk on both sides. I hold that when we pass a sedition law here we should weigh each word carefully, and not simply do as they used to do on the frontier, set a gun in the front yard to keep out robbers, and shoot friends and robbers alike. We want to protect ourselves against anarchists, but we want also to protect our own people in a free and fair discussion and criticism of our Government. [Applause.] That is the position I take.

Our existing laws have been interpreted by our courts; the meaning of every word has been determined by the decisions of our highest courts. To change these laws and place in their stead new criminal statutes with the death penalty attached to their violation would have a tendency to bully and intimidate the American people, so that they would not dare to enter upon a fair discussion of our Constitution, the laws on our statute books, and the acts of an administration in power.

#### DEATH PENALTY.

Notwithstanding a very considerable number of the States have abolished capital punishment, this section of the law provides for the death penalty for its violation. It further provides that anyone is guilty of the violation of the law who sets on foot or assists in the use of force or violence. Under section 6, a person might not be guilty of using force himself, but by means of propaganda or speech might be said to set on foot or assist. Such persons would be subject to the death penalty if convicted of violating this section.

Section 2 is subject to the same criticism.

Section 3 provides that no person shall orally or by writing, printing, or the use of any sign, symbol, picture, caricature, or otherwise teach, incite, advocate, propose, or advise, or aid, abet, or encourage forcible resistance to the Government of the United States, its Constitution, laws, and authority, or the government of the several States, all or any of them, or the existence of constituted governments generally or defend \* \* \* the injury or destruction of public or private property as a means of changing the Constitution, laws, or Government of the United States or defeating the authority thereof.

The above section is very broad and quite ambiguous. It contemplates that a person might by sign, symbol, picture, caricature, abet or encourage forcible resistance to the Government of the United States and its authority or the existence of constituted government generally.

Under this statute a jury would have the right to pass upon the question of whether a picture or cartoon did not abet or

encourage forcible resistance to the Government of the United States or the authority of the United States, or the existence of constituted governments generally. I do not know what is meant by the existence of constituted government generally the way it is intended in this statute. It can not mean the Government of the United States, because that has already been designated. It must therefore mean municipal, township government, or it might even mean a foreign Government.

I want in that connection to read an extract from May's Constitutional History of England, volume 2, page 2001:

Let us now examine the general results of the long contest which had been maintained between the ill-regulated, mischievous, and often criminal struggles of the people for freedom, on the one hand, and the harsh policy of repression maintained by the Government, on the other. The last 28 years of the reign of George III formed a period of perfect transition for liberty of opinion. While the right of free discussion had been discredited by factious license, by wild and dangerous theories, by turbulence and sedition, the government and legislature in guarding against these excesses had discountenanced and repressed legitimate agitation. \* \* \* Authority was placed in constant antagonism to large masses of people who had no voice in the Government of their country. Mutual distrust and alienation grew up between them. The people lost confidence in rulers, whom they knew only by oppressive taxes and harsh laws severely administered. The Government, harassed by suspicions of disaffection, detected conspiracy and treason in every murmur of popular discontent.

That is the situation practically to-day in the United States.

I wish now to direct my attention to another section of the Graham bill, and many of these sedition bills are practically the same in regard to a few of these principal features.

Section 3 further provides that no person shall orally or by the use of pictures, caricature, or otherwise, defend the injury or destruction of public and private property. If public property or private property should be destroyed or injured as the result of a labor strike, every person who aided or encouraged the strike or who in any way defended the strikers might be held by a jury to be guilty under section 3 and be subject to a penalty of 20 years' imprisonment.

#### POSTMASTER GENERAL CENSOR.

Section 6 provides that the Postmaster General shall pass upon every book, magazine, newspaper, sign, symbol, or communication, writing, pictorial, printed matter, and so forth. If the Postmaster General or one of his authorized clerks determine that any letter, paper, magazine, or any other writing that passes through the mail violates this law or makes an appeal to racial prejudices, the intended and probable result of which appeal is to cause rioting or the resort to force and violence within the United States or any place subject to the jurisdiction thereof, he can declare the same nonmailable.

In discussing the powers conferred on the Postmaster General there is nothing personal intended. My remarks are directed against the giving of any person the right to determine without even a hearing what is seditious.

Section 7 of the law provides that any letter, book, magazine, newspaper, document, and so forth, which has been declared nonmailable by the Postmaster General or his clerk shall not be transportable in any other way, by express or by public or private conveyance. This section of the law gives the Postmaster General the right to censor or say what 110,000,000 people shall read. It provides for no trial and no appeal.

This provision of the proposed law is very much more drastic than the espionage law, which was a war measure and was passed with the proviso that it should expire when the war ended. Under the provision of the proposed law any writing which had been passed upon adversely by the Postmaster General could not be circulated in any way. It could not be handed to a person. If the Postmaster General should pass upon a speech in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD adversely, any person would violate this law who handed the Record to a member of his family, or even exhibited it to his attorney to obtain an opinion.

Under the less drastic espionage law the Postmaster General replied to a suit in the Federal court by declaring that "he acted in his uncontrolled discretion and under the law was not accountable to anyone for the justice or effect of his official act."

Mr. BLANTON. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BROWNE. Yes.

Mr. BLANTON. It was not the Postmaster General or the Attorney General when Czolgoz got in his work.

Mr. BROWNE. I hold that these people who want to support anarchists and read literature that emanates from cellars and underground places we will have with us always. We have had those people ever since the world existed, just as we have had robbers and murderers, and the law that it is proposed to enact will not eliminate them, for you will have just as many afterwards, and if you read the history of this country you will find



that the assassination of our public men has been less than it has been in any other country. Where you find the anarchists thrive the most is in your autocratic government, where your censorship laws are the most drastic.

Mr. BLANTON. But the soviet ambassador of Lenin and Trotsky does not occupy the cellars. He occupies one of the most fashionable apartment houses in the city of Washington.

Mr. BROWNE. Then that is the fault of your administration, the Department of Justice.

Mr. BLANTON. It is not my fault; it is the fault over here.

Mr. BROWNE. The soviet government of Lenin and Trotsky has a censorship on the press, for they are afraid of a revolution. They have a drastic censorship, and the censorship is used by the radicals Lenin and Trotsky just as much as it is by the other autocratic governments.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Wisconsin has expired.

Mr. BROWNE. I will ask the gentleman to yield me five minutes more.

Mr. PORTER. I yield five minutes more to the gentleman.

Mr. BAER. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BROWNE. Yes.

Mr. BAER. I can furnish the gentleman with a quotation from Abraham Lincoln's first inaugural address and one from an address made by Thomas Jefferson, if he wants it, and I am sure that Attorney General Palmer, with the Graham law in force, could take Jefferson by the nape of the neck and put him in jail if he were on earth to-day. But I understand that he states the Graham law is no child of his department.

Mr. BROWNE. I know that parts of the Declaration of Independence have been considered absolutely unmailable.

Mr. NEWTON of Minnesota. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BROWNE. Yes.

Mr. NEWTON of Minnesota. Does the gentleman say that he knows that some portions of the Declaration of Independence are unmailable under this law?

Mr. BROWNE. I think that some parts would be under the proposed Graham bill.

Mr. NEWTON of Minnesota. I would like to have the gentleman, in his time, put in those extracts from the Declaration of Independence that, in his judgment, would be unmailable under this law, or any statement of Thomas Jefferson or of Abraham Lincoln.

Mr. BAER. I will furnish the gentleman with an editorial from a New York World, wherein it says that Mr. Pulitzer had printed a part of the Declaration of Independence in his yearbook every year, and Mr. Cobb says the World would be absolutely unmailable under the provisions of this law if enacted, and several jurists have told me the same thing.

Mr. BROWNE. Take the part of the Declaration of Independence where it states that whenever any form of government is destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or to abolish it. Also that clause in the Declaration of Independence states when long abuses and usurpations evince a design to reduce them under absolute despotism, it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such government. I think under the provisions of the Graham bill it would be doubtful whether you could mail the Declaration of Independence.

Mr. NEWTON of Minnesota. I have not read the Graham bill.

Mr. BROWNE. Then I commend it to the gentleman for his reading before he tries to defend it.

Mr. NEWTON of Minnesota. I am not defending it.

Mr. BROWNE. Let me, in this connection, call your attention to a newspaper extract which I have here stating that a minister of the gospel up in Canada, where they have rather severe censorship laws, but no more drastic than the Graham bill, has been placed in jail for quoting a passage from the Bible.

Canada seems to be afraid of its people and has just passed a drastic censorship law. The other day the Canadian Government had one of its ministers, the Rev. J. S. Woodsworth, indicted for quoting the passages from the Bible:

That is literally true. The indictment upon which Rev. J. S. Woodsworth is being tried reads:

"That J. S. Woodsworth, in or about the month of June, A. D. 1919, at the city of Winnipeg, in the Province of Manitoba, unlawfully and seditiously published libels in the words and figures following:

"Woe unto them that decree unrighteous decrees, and that write grievances which they have prescribed; to turn aside the needy from judgment, and to take away the right from the poor of my people, that widows may be their prey, and that they may rob the fatherless." (Isaiah.)

"And they shall build houses and inhabit them, and they shall plant vineyards and eat the fruit of them. They shall not build, and another inhabit; they shall not plant, and another eat; for the days of a tree are the days of my people, and mine elect shall long enjoy the work of their hands." (Isaiah.)"

Mr. NEWTON of Minnesota. I read a statement some two or three months ago to the effect that if a sedition bill was passed, using the term generally, portions of the Constitution could not be mailed under such a law.

Mr. BROWNE. In whose address was that?

Mr. NEWTON of Minnesota. I say that I read it in a New York paper devoted to the cause of the rights of women. The paper went on to state that some New York judge had put a man in prison because he had quoted and circulated in a pamphlet an extract from the Constitution. I wrote to the paper and asked the editors for the proof, and when they were asked for a showdown they could not give anything.

Mr. BROWNE. What paper was that?

Mr. NEWTON of Minnesota. I do not remember the name of the paper, but I think it was the Woman Citizen or something of that kind.

Mr. GRIFFIN. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BROWNE. Yes.

Mr. GRIFFIN. Was it not a part of the Declaration of Independence that was quoted?

Mr. NEWTON of Minnesota. No; the Bill of Rights.

#### HARMFUL EFFECTS OF DRASTIC LAWS.

Mr. BROWNE. People have sometimes felt justified in remote, out-of-way places, where robbers were very much more numerous than officers of the law, to set a gun at nightfall in the front yard. Of course, this practice was soon discounted. Even conceding that the proposed law would get some anarchists if it is broad and far-reaching enough to convict people who are honestly advocating changes in our laws and criticizing the way our Government is being administered, if it deters the small papers of the country or honest citizens from absolute freedom in the discussion of public questions or in criticizing public officials or the Government, the law would do manifestly more harm than good. The anarchist, or so-called "red," will go down in a cellar and plot against the Government as much after this bill becomes a law as before. These enemies of all government have existed since the establishment of the first government. They exist just the same as robbers and crooks that prey on society. They are criminals, and should be dealt with as such. We should not, in dealing with them, pass laws that will oppress others and maybe drive many honest radicals into their ranks.

It is a significant fact that the more autocratic your Government, the more you censor your press and gag freedom of speech and prevent people peaceably to assemble, the more anarchists you make. The milder class of radicals that are prohibited by drastic laws from speaking through the press or in public places, and who is an enemy of the red anarchist and would not be seen in his company, is driven from his public meeting place to the cellar. Here he meets the anarchist; and, with the feeling that the Government has wronged him, he is a much more easy convert than he would have been if allowed freedom in discussing his views.

I hold no brief for the socialists. I do not believe in their theories, but I do believe that their arguments should be met by arguments and reason and not by police officers and United States marshals. I am not afraid that the American people are going to be carried away by Bolshevism when discussed from the platform. I am not afraid that the American people are going to adopt the theories of the I. W. W. or any organization of its kind.

#### DANGERS IN REACTION.

There is danger in reaction as well as in radicalism. There can be no more prolific breeder of revolution than the suppression of the people's fundamental liberties.

#### AMERICAN INSTITUTIONS SECURE.

Our American institutions are secure because the great majority of the people believe in them, and not because Attorney General Palmer and the Department of Justice are attempting to maintain them by force. Free government must forever be the resultant of all the forces that are brought to bear upon it—radical and reactionary, liberal and conservative, revolutionary and bourgeois, socialistic and individualistic. When any of these forces is compelled to resort to secrecy the equilibrium is destroyed and the way is open to disaster.

Jefferson said:

Error should be free to be heard as long as reason is left free to combat it.

#### INTOLERANT SPIRIT ALL OVER THE WORLD.

Our Government, after entering the war to make the world safe for democracy, seems to be joining with Europe in an effort to centralize power and stamp out democracy. Every country that was engaged in the war seems reluctant to give up any of the powers that were given it in the war. Drast!

censorship laws are being enacted, the same as they have been after all wars and after autocratic war powers have been exercised by those in authority.

England, although she promised after the war to repeal censorship and her press censorship, still maintains them. England has even suspended the right of trial by jury in Ireland. She allows the arbitrary search of private premises, the suppression of newspapers, forbidding even monthly fairs and farmers' meetings in Ireland. Of course, it takes force to carry out such autocratic policies, and England has over 100,000 British troops in Ireland in attempting to maintain its government by force. Who would believe that this was the Government of which Pitt said:

The poorest man in his cottage may bid defiance to all the force of the crown; it may be frail, its roof may shake, the winds may blow through it, the storms may enter, the rain may enter, but the King of England can not enter; all his forces dare not cross the threshold of the ruined tenement.

The inherent sovereignty of the citizen over government was thus pictured by Pitt in words that for over a century and a half have been part of the political heritage of the English-speaking peoples.

#### SOVIET CENSORS THE PRESS.

In the soviet government Lenin and Trotsky, of Russia, censor the press and prohibit freedom of speech to protect the people from what they call revolutionary propaganda.

#### FREEDOM OF ASSEMBLAGE.

During the steel and coal strikes in Allegheny County, Pa., the authorities forbade two or more men to assemble in the streets. The authorities in many cities have prohibited socialists, nonpartisan league speakers, and others from speaking, and have even driven them out of their cities.

In keeping with the spirit of intolerance, the five socialists elected by a majority of the voters from their respective districts in the State of New York, with their certificates of election signed by the proper authorities, are summarily denied their seats because they hold different political opinions from the majority party of that assembly.

These unjustifiable acts of intolerance cause distrust and shake the people's faith in our Government and make more socialists and radicals than years of propaganda would make.

Democratic platform during the Civil War, adopted in Chicago, Ill., August 29, 1864:

Extracts from the platform adopted by the national Democratic convention in Chicago August 29, 1864.

*Resolved*, That this convention does explicitly declare, as the sense of the American people, that after four years of failure to restore the Union by the experiment of war, during which, under the pretense of a military necessity or war power higher than the Constitution, the Constitution has been disregarded in every part, and public liberty and private right alike trodden down, and the material prosperity of the country essentially impaired—justice, humanity, liberty, and the public welfare demand that immediate efforts be made for a cessation of hostilities, with a view to the ultimate convention of the States, or other peaceable means, to the end that, at the earliest practical moment, peace may be restored on the basis of the Federal union of the States.

*Resolved*, That the direct interference of the military authorities of the United States in the recent elections held in Kentucky, Maryland, Missouri, and Delaware was a shameful violation of the Constitution, and a repetition of such acts in the approaching election will be held as revolutionary and resisted with all the means and power at our command.

*Resolved*, That the aim and object of the Democratic Party is to preserve the Federal Union and the rights of the States unimpaired, and that they hereby declare that they consider that the administrative usurpation of extraordinary and dangerous powers not granted by the Constitution—the subversion of the civil by military law in States not in insurrection; the arbitrary military arrest and imprisonment, trial and sentence of American citizens in States where civil law exists in full force; the suppression of freedom of speech and of the press; the denial of the right of asylum; the open and avowed disregard of State rights; the employment of unusual test oaths; and the interference with and denial of the right of the people to bear arms in their defense—is calculated to prevent the restoration of the Union and the perpetuation of a government deriving its just powers from the consent of the governed.

*Resolved*, That the shameful disregard of the administration to its duty and respect to our fellow citizens who are now and long have been prisoners of war and in a suffering condition deserve the severest reprobation on the score alike of public policy and common humanity.

Under the proposed law these delegates voting for the Democratic platform of 1864 and whosoever helped circulate it could be convicted and sentenced to the penitentiary for 20 years.

#### HISTORY CONDEMNS CENSORSHIP.

At the time of the French Revolution, when agitators and anarchists were seeking not only to destroy the French Government but every other Government in the world, all the nations of Europe passed drastic sedition laws. Free speech, free press, and the right to peaceably assemble were prohibited. Free speech was prohibited in many legislative bodies by the most drastic censorship laws.

#### WHAT SOME GREAT AMERICANS SAY ABOUT DRASTIC CENSORSHIP LAWS.

Thomas Jefferson, in 1804, said:

The firmness with which the people have withstood the late abuse of the press and the discernment they have manifested between truth and falsehood shows that they may safely be trusted to hear anything true and false and form a correct judgment between them. Our first object should therefore be to leave open to the people all avenues to truth. The most effectual hitherto found is the freedom of the press.

William E. Channing, of Massachusetts, one of the ablest pulpit orators of his time, stated:

Freedom of opinion, of speech, and of the press is our most valuable privilege, the very soul of republican institutions, the safeguard of all other rights. We may learn its value if we reflect that there is nothing which tyrants so much dread. They anxiously fetter the press; they scatter spies through society, that the murmurs, anguish, and indignation of their oppressed subjects may be smothered in their own breasts; that no generous sentiment may be nourished by sympathy and mutual confidence. Nothing awakens and improves man so much as free communication of thoughts and feelings. Nothing can give public sentiment that correctness which is essential to the prosperity of a Commonwealth but the free circulation of truth from the lips and pens of the wise and good. If such men abandon the right of free discussion; if, awed by threats, they suppress their convictions; if rules succeed in silencing every voice but that which approves them; if nothing reaches the people but what will lend support to men in power, farewell to liberty. The form of a free government may remain, but the life, the soul, the substance is fled. \* \* \*

John Quincy Adams, a champion of freedom of speech, in a speech in 1837 said:

Freedom of speech is the only safety valve which, under high pressure, can preserve your political boiler from a fearful and fatal explosion.

Joseph Story said:

Here shall the press and the people's right maintain,  
Unawed by influence and unbribed by gain;  
Here patriot truths her glorious precepts draw,  
Pledged to religion, liberty, and law.

[Applause.]

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Wisconsin has expired.

By unanimous consent, Mr. BROWNE was granted leave to extend his remarks in the RECORD.

Mr. FLOOD. I yield 30 minutes to the gentleman from Alabama [Mr. HUDDLESTON].

By unanimous consent, Mr. HUDDLESTON was granted leave to revise and extend his remarks in the RECORD.

Mr. HUDDLESTON. Mr. Chairman, in view of the fate of my friend the gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. BROWNE], with respect to interruptions during his remarks, I beg that I may not be interrupted. I want to speak upon the same subject to which he addressed himself, the sedition bill.

This is the second time within a few days that I have risen to this subject, and I trust the House will forgive me. I do not want to weary the House, but I am deeply concerned about the matter. I fear that something wrong is about to be done. I love my country too much to be willing to see that any of the things that we regard as fundamental Americanism shall be tampered with.

I try not to be an extremist, but I can not forget why our ancestors fought at Lexington and at Cowpens and at Yorktown. I can not forget the early history of my country; I can not forget the Declaration of Independence and the American Bill of Rights. There seems to be so little attention being paid to this bill by Members of the House, and it has such momentous possibilities and is of such tremendous importance that I am distressed at its imminence.

Speaking upon the passport-control bill in the House on May 4, 1918, at page 6063 of the RECORD, I said:

Democracies find it hard to wage efficient war. When war comes we find that the principles that democracies have long cherished and have bled for are given up one by one, little by little, piece by piece, until at last, if those who concern themselves merely with carrying on the war have their complete will, there will be left no democracy, no liberty, but only autocracy, because autocracy can wage the most efficient war.

I realize that we who love liberty must give up many things that we have cherished, and I am willing to give up mine. I give them up gladly, but I give them up with an awful and sickening fear in my soul that perhaps some of them may never come back to me and to my people.

We gave up many American privileges to win the war. We passed the passport-control bill which forbade an American citizen either to leave his own country, or once away from it to come back, without the permission of the President, under power which might be delegated to some subordinate. We gave up the right to speak our minds freely and say what we thought about the war and matters connected with it. We gave up the right to say whether we would go to war as volunteers or stay at home. There are other rights which we gave up.

While I did not agree to giving up some of these things even temporarily, my judgment was that of the minority, and I cheerfully acquiesced in what was regarded as the emergency of the



hour. One reason why I did not agree was because I knew what I said on that day was true—that once you give up a liberty there is danger that you will never get it back again. That has been verified and is being constantly verified.

That same passport-control bill came before my committee again after the war had closed, and a strong effort was made to get it reenacted for peace times without any limit upon the period during which it should be in force. I honor the Committee on Foreign Affairs that it stood against that effort and insisted that a limit should be put upon it, but we were able only after a hard fight to compromise with the other body to put a limit at the time fixed, six months as I recall it, after peace had been finally declared. That law is still in force, though we have had no war for over a year.

The explosives act, which we passed, as anyone who really understands the subject will admit, invaded the police powers of the States, yet a determined and persistent effort was made—and I feel I am not exaggerating when I say that that effort was to a large extent surreptitious—to reenact that law and make it of permanent application. Only the courage of the House defeated that purpose.

We are now having, as is known to every Member of the House, a most determined and powerful effort made to make as a permanent American institution the odious system of conscription of soldiers—conscription for peace, not for war. There is an influential element in this country that wants to carry on in time of peace and as a permanent thing a system of dragging boys by force away from their firesides and putting them in the ranks in time of peace.

In this sedition bill we have an effort to perpetuate in still more distasteful terms, with still more drastic provisions, the harsh terms of the espionage act.

I hope the House will not surrender to these proposals. I hope the House will not allow its sense of true Americanism to be overcome by the temporary hysteria of reaction which is an aftermath of the war. I hope we will stand firm.

#### NOT A LABOR ISSUE.

There is a disposition upon the part of some to look upon this measure as having peculiar labor aspects, as being a labor issue. That is a very grave mistake. Labor has no particular concern in this bill. Do not be misled, gentlemen, by the coincidence that it happens that the big employers are all for this sedition bill and that labor is all against it. Mr. Gompers has no more concern about this legislation than should be held by any patriotic citizen.

There is nothing about a man being a workingman, or a unionist, for that matter, that has any particular relation to this bill.

It just so happens that one of the planks of the American Federation of Labor is in behalf of free speech. It has had that principle in its platform during its entire existence; it is in there along with some other splendid democratic and humanitarian planks; and I recommend that some Members of the House, who do not seem to understand what the American Federation of Labor stands for, read them some time. There is reason why the American Federation of Labor should stand for democratic principles. Somebody has got to speak for the common man and defend his interest, else he is lost. The common man is the one who is really concerned in democracy; he is the one that needs his liberty defended. The great and powerful always have all the liberty they want. They can take care of themselves. It is the poor and ignorant and obscure who need freedom of speech and the right to think their thoughts and try to make something of themselves. They are the people who should be encouraged. They are the ones who should have the greatest liberty, to strive and to look onward and upward into a higher and better life. The rich and powerful can work out their own destinies. Governments courtesy to them, even as "customs courtesy to kings." This is so because they dominate government by reason of their wealth, intelligence, and education and social and political prestige. Governmental activity is but the manifestation of their will. This is inevitable, whether in oligarchy or democracy.

But this is not a labor question, gentlemen. It is an American question. It has nothing to do with unionism. It has to do with what our ancestors fought for upon the battle fields of the Revolution. Free speech is an essential part of the spirit of Americanism which broods over our country and guides its destiny. Let us not forget it in a moment of hysteria.

#### WHAT IS THE WORST TREASON?

Too many gentlemen of the House, and this is true also of the public, are inclined to take a mere legalistic view of this and of other similar measures. Many Members are in the same situation as the gentleman who a few moments ago expressed himself with considerable assurance upon the proposition, saying

at the same time he had never read the bill. So it was that a gentleman who made a speech the other day saying that he was against sedition; he was against treason. Well, are we not all against sedition? Are we not all against treason? Commonplaces, oratory, protestations, and swelling the bosom over how patriotic we are of small worth. Let us read the bill and understand it.

What is treason? Ah, the worst treason I know of, my friends, is treason to the principles of Americanism [applause], treason which would betray what our ancestors accomplished by the shedding of their blood. If there be worse treason, I do not know what it is. Of course, we are against sedition and we are against treason. Gentlemen who talk such commonplaces, in their innocence—I will not say ignorance—do not seem to know that we already have laws to punish treason; that we already have laws to punish sedition. We need nothing new for those purposes, and this bill does not give anything new.

Nobody who knows this subject or has studied it will for a moment insist that we have not laws which make it a crime either to actively resist the Government of the United States, its authority, or its laws, or to conspire with anybody else toward that end. If a man undertake to use force against the Government of the United States or its laws or its authority—and that is very broad, gentlemen—there is a law that fits his case exactly. If any two men agree between themselves to do any act of that kind, although that act be not accomplished, we have laws that fit their case exactly. We need nothing more for such cases. And I refer gentlemen who want to look into the subject to sections 5334 and 5336 of the Revised Statutes.

The only thing that this proposed measure accomplishes or is intended to accomplish is to keep a man from saying what he may want to say. It is to prevent speech, either printed or oral. That is the only field for the operation of this statute whatsoever, to keep men from advising others to oppose by force either the Government, the authority of the Government, or any law of the United States.

#### HOW LAW WOULD OPERATE.

For illustration, if a man should get up on the street corner and say to the bystanders, "An unjust law has been passed by Congress. I advise you to resist it by force, if need be," this statute operates on him and him alone. It is applicable only to cases of that kind, and its sole purpose is to prevent such speeches and other similar acts.

Mr. BLACK. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. HUDDLESTON. The gentleman will excuse me, please. I asked at the beginning not to be interrupted, because I really did not have time to say what I want to say.

It operates on him and him alone. Then comes back at me a legalistic gentleman and says, "Are you not opposed to a man saying that?" Now, there are several propositions involved in that question. Of course, I am opposed to him saying that, but it does not follow by any means that I want to put him in the penitentiary for it, or that I would favor passing a law that would do so. I want to be perfectly frank with this House. I would not suppress that man. I would let him say what he wants to say. Nobody need misunderstand me on that point. But that is not the question.

The propriety of passing a law to suppress free speech is not to be decided solely upon the issue of whether a law is needed to forbid some man from doing a thing which he ought not to do. That is not the sole consideration at all. There are other aspects of the matter much more important. One is the expediency of such a law. Should we start out on a program aimed at the freedom of speech? That is the first problem you have got to settle for yourselves. Should we imprison men for saying what they please when and although no consequences whatever result therefrom? Then, if you answer in the affirmative, ask yourself this question, "Is this an opportune time to embark upon that kind of legislation?" The country is at peace, yet we have grave unrest in the country. The unrest at present is almost wholly industrial. There is not one man in 10,000 in the United States who wants to overthrow the Government or has any thought of such, or who wants to change the things that constitute Americanism. And yet, as I said in a speech which I made in the House on December 9 last, industrial unrest may be converted into political unrest by political measures. And when I said that I had in mind just such measures as this, efforts by Government to deal with industrial unrest, not by answering it, not by explaining it away, not by remedying the evils that have caused the unrest, not by doctoring the disease, but by throttling the patient's cries.

#### WILL AGGRAVATE DISCONTENT.

If there be anybody so simple as to believe that to forbid the expression of discontent is a cure for discontent, then to him I

can offer no argument. There is industrial unrest. I deplore it. But it exists and it has its causes. It will in due course pass away, just as such things have in the past. We will forget it. However, if we pass such a law as this, I hope we will not be allowed to forget our action.

Existing popular unrest will pass in due course unless we deal with it in a stupid, blundering way; unless we undertake to suppress it by the iron hand of the Government; unless we change and divert the dissatisfaction which the man feels with his wage, or with his employer, or with the conditions under which he works, or with the profiteer, or with one thing and another that has excited unrest; unless we divert that dissatisfaction from its legitimate object, the employer or the profiteer, and so on, who may be abusing the privileges and opportunities of this country—divert it from him to the Government. By suppressing an expression of that discontent we will take upon the shoulders of our Government the burden of this discontent that is caused in chief by industrial and economic conditions. [Applause.]

Now, if we are going to pass this kind of law, if somebody is so legalistic and abstract that because his attention is called to a field for the operation of an antiracket law, to a gap in the law that ought to be stopped some time, he feels compelled to fill it, I hope he may have balance of judgment enough to wait until a time when it is more opportune, until the industrial and economic pain from which the people are suffering has either run its course or has been remedied in some way. I do not want our Government to take upon its shoulders the burden of the hatred and distrust of everybody who has got a just ground of complaint and dissatisfaction now. Is there anyone who does? I would ask him to consider it most carefully.

#### ABUSES IN ENFORCING LAW INEVITABLE.

But another thing, gentlemen, that we have got to consider, having passed upon the two preceding points, is, What is going to be the result of this law? How is it going to be enforced? Well, we have had some experience with the enforcement of the espionage act. We have had many convictions under that law. We have had a great many arrests. The Attorney General's report shows that more than two people were unjustly and wrongfully charged with violating that act to every one who was found guilty under it. For every man who was found guilty more than two were haled into court, put to the expense of trial, and humiliated and made ashamed.

But what about the thousands who did not get into court? What about the terror that was spread over the country? What about the spies? What about honest men and patriotic citizens being made afraid? They did not know their rights; they are not lawyers—they did not know what they could say nor what they could not say. Members of Congress even could not say that. There were in this country thousands and hundreds of thousands of good Americans who suppressed their thoughts, and who were made afraid, and who were spied upon and humiliated and embarrassed because we had this law. The country was filled with busybodies and volunteer spies, who considered themselves patriotic in eavesdropping their neighbors and informing upon any who spoke indiscreetly.

What occurred then will occur again. These men who were convicted—who were they? Were they German spies? My information, gentlemen, is that under that espionage act there has not been a single conviction of an enemy agent or a spy or of anybody who tried, either at the instigation of an enemy government or otherwise, to get information for enemy uses. No; it was Americans who were punished. There were only a few people who undertook to do disloyal acts, a very few who undertook such things, scarcely one out of a hundred of those convicted. Nearly all of those convicted were Americans, Americans in spirit and Americans in interest. They were unwise; they had bad taste; they were wrong; they were impolitic. They said things against the Government or against the administration. What they did was wrong. It was also unlawful—and they were put in jail. The sad thing to tell is that many of them are still there, languishing in prison, with the war over and the troops gone home—Americans born and bred, loving our country and its institutions, perhaps willing to die for it—fanatic and misguided—they languish yet in jail.

#### CASE OF ROSE PASTOR STOKES.

Rose Pastor Stokes about two years ago wrote a letter to a newspaper in which she said, "I am for the people; the Government is for the profiteers." For the use of those words she was indicted under the espionage act for obstructing recruiting for the Army, and so forth, haled before the court, and tried. Her past utterances were investigated. Everything that she had ever said or done which indicated opposition to the war or dissatisfaction or disagreement with governmental

action was placed before the jury in its most prejudicial light. She was not permitted to prove that she had done this or said that or the other thing tending to sustain American institutions and showing her love of country, but everything she had ever said or done that could be twisted or distorted into an unfavorable aspect was quoted against her. The jury was human and naturally the woman was convicted. She was given a 10 years' sentence in the penitentiary. Public sentiment was inflamed and most intolerant; she was wrong; she spoke ill of our Government; the jury thought her words might have had some harmful effect; of course, she was convicted.

That, gentlemen, is a typical case. Are you going to leave the door open to prosecutions under another act, and this in time of peace, that will leave it open to juries to say, "Your intent was bad, and therefore we convict you and send you to the penitentiary"?

Read this bill, gentlemen; read it carefully. If it merely provided that a man who advised in explicit terms the use of force against the Government, if that were all, it would not be so bad. But that is not all. In it are used many equivocal expressions, such as "advises," "teaches," "suggests," "tends to," "incites," and "calculated to," and so on down the gamut of words expressing the means by which one man may affect the conduct of another, words of loose and uncertain meaning.

Every jury that is called upon to try a man under such a statute will be required to pass upon his intentions. It is inevitable that the accused will be found guilty or innocent as the jury may approve or disapprove his motives. And how are they going to find his intent? Just as they did under the espionage act. [Applause.] The result of such a trial is bound to be determined by existing public opinion and the standing and influence of the accused. This bill, if it passes, will put it in the power of any jury, if they should be so stupid, prejudiced, or uninformed, to convict an accused, no matter how high his loyalty or unselfish his patriotism.

#### NO GENERAL DEMAND FOR SEDITION LAW.

There is no general demand for legislation aimed at sedition. Such demand as there is is merely a class demand. It comes merely from the big business and propertied interests and those who, having little sympathy with democracy, conceive the need that the plain citizen should have his thinking and his talking done for him. Big finance and big business and their organs and parasites demand the legislation. By them it is intended to suppress agitation for the economic and industrial changes which they oppose. They fear that their control over our resources and their opportunity for exploiting labor and the masses in various ways are threatened. Certain newspapers which speak for the big interests are advocating repressive measures, but there is no demand for such measures from our farming population or from labor or from the masses generally.

I come from a great industrial district. The three dailies published in my home city each advocated antisedition legislation editorially and have carried the propaganda in favor of it. One of these papers, the News, the most influential of the three, published a copy of the so-called Davey bill, and urged editorially that my constituents should write me advocating the passage of that measure. In response to this urging and to the editorials and so forth in the two other dailies I have received exactly one letter in behalf of the Davey bill. I have received numerous letters from my constituents against it. No doubt my district is typical.

Mr. Glass, editor of the Birmingham News, to which I refer, is also president of the American Newspaper Publishers Association. He is reported in the press to have called upon the newspapers, members of his association, to oppose section 6 of the Graham bill. That is the section which would affect the freedom of the newspapers to publish what they wish. After advocating in the News the passage of the Davey bill, Mr. Glass becomes suddenly aroused when a measure which would affect the privileges of newspapers is presented. It would seem that he cares nothing for the right of the people to speak but is deeply concerned when his own rights and those of his fellow editors are trench upon.

#### THE AGE OF PROPAGANDA.

This is the age of propaganda. The printing press, long a blessing to mankind, is now, it seems, about to prove a curse. The press seems almost wholly devoted to teaching class doctrines and furthering interests of the small upper class. Journalism is a dying art. Newspapers print little unadulterated news. Nearly everything is set up in line with the owner's policy and to teach the things he would have his readers believe. I do not make this statement solely upon my own responsibility. We have the opinion of Frank I. Cobb, the New York editor, upon the subject. In an address which Mr. Cobb delivered in the city



of New York on December 11, 1919, he discussed the methods of propaganda and the necessity for the reestablishing of free opinion and speech with great force and understanding. I take leave to quote a few passages from Mr. Cobb's speech:

For five years there has been no free play of public opinion in the world.

Confronted by the inexorable necessities of war, Governments conscripted public opinion as they conscripted men and money and materials.

Having conscripted it, they dealt with it as they dealt with other raw recruits. They mobilized it. They put it in charge of drill sergeants. They goose-stepped it. They taught it to stand at attention and salute.

This governmental control over public opinion was exerted through two different channels—one the censorship and the other propaganda.

As the war progressed the censorship became less and less a factor and propaganda increased in importance. Governments relied on propaganda to equip and sustain their armies, to raise money, to furnish food and munitions, and to perform all those services without which armies would be vain and helpless. The organized manipulation of public opinion was as inevitable a development of modern warfare as airplanes, tanks, and barbed-wire entanglements.

There were two kinds of propaganda, one that represented the appeal to reason.

The other kind of propaganda resembled in a general way the activities of the cheer leaders at a football game. It was noisy and demonstrative and emotional and spectacular, and as such it often served a highly useful purpose. Sometimes it was frankly mendacious, for mendacity plays no insignificant rôle in the drama of war. When government lies, it does not lie sneakily and furtively but proudly and ostentatiously.

When the armistice was signed and demobilization began, public opinion was demobilized, too. Bands of propagandists are wandering around terrorizing public opinion and trying to frighten it into submission to theories of government that are strange to American institutions.

What the United States needs more than anything else to-day is the restoration of the free play of public opinion. That requires, first, the reestablishment of the freedom of discussion, for without freedom of discussion there is no public opinion that deserves the name.

The policy of repression that has been generally adopted by governors, mayors, and police officials—in some cases by Federal authority—to meet this propaganda of radicalism is fatal. Two thousand years of history bear witness to its folly. Nobody ever succeeded in bettering the weather by putting the thermometer in jail, and nobody will ever remove the causes of unrest and discontent by trying to suppress their manifestations.

#### BE NOT AFRAID.

The trouble with the advocates of repressive measures of legislation seems to be a case of fear—I almost said "shell shock," the recoil of war. They do not trust the people. Their faith in American institutions is shaken. They are perhaps unconsciously showing themselves willing to abandon the principles of Americanism to which we have so long held. I reassure them. The people of the United States are yet capable of self-government, notwithstanding the doubts of these gentlemen. It will take something more than a few "soap-box spellbinders" to overthrow the Government of the United States.

I would bid the fearful ones to trust to the sound sense of the people and to their ability to winnow out the chaff of false political doctrine. Undoubtedly, after 140 years of development and experience with free institutions, the American people can be trusted to adhere to them. They are more competent for self-government to-day than ever.

The greatest threat to American self-government is the efforts of propagandists who poison public opinion with their falsehoods and crystallize men's views along warped lines. We have some rich men in America who don't know what to do with their riches. They want to interfere with and control other people's lives. They want to do other people's thinking. They conceive, because they have made millions, that they know all about political and social problems. The truth is that the average captain of industry and financier has less real understanding of such questions than the average citizen. Let him get back to his money box, let him clip his coupons, let him go on heaping up his millions. That he understands and can do. He can not rule the people. No man who is burdened with accumulated wealth or whose past is tainted by having devoted his heart and soul to the accumulation of wealth is fit to lead the people along lines of high morals or thinking.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Alabama has expired.

Mr. PORTER. Mr. Chairman, I yield 10 minutes to the gentleman from New York [Mr. HUSTED].

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from New York is recognized for 10 minutes.

Mr. HUSTED. Mr. Chairman, I rise for the purpose of discussing the sedition act, which the gentleman from Alabama [Mr. HUBLESTON] has just condemned in such unmeasured terms. I happened to be the chairman of the subcommittee that drafted the act. [Applause.]

But I desire to say that I am and have always been absolutely opposed to sections 1 and 2, the sections which contain the conspiracy clauses. I do not believe that any man in the United States should be convicted of a political offense unless he have a separate trial, and those sections provide for group trials. I also am opposed to the death penalty carried in those sections, because I believe it is not necessary there. There is ample statutory authority in every State to deal with cases of murder or cases of violence which cause death.

But with the eliminations of sections 1 and 2 this bill is not at all what the gentleman from Alabama [Mr. HUBLESTON] and other gentlemen, who have apparently examined it not at all closely, have said that it is. It is confined absolutely to the prohibiting and punishment of advocacy of force and violence, in overthrowing either the Government of the United States, its laws, or the authority of its laws; and I would like to hear some gentleman rise upon this floor and say that the Government of the United States, through its administrative officials, should not be possessed of adequate authority to deal with a man who either on the public platform or in the meeting room advises the overthrow of this Government by the use of the bomb, the torch, dynamite, or any other violent means. [Applause.]

This bill does not interfere in the slightest degree with any man who advocates any change in our Government, however fundamental that change may be. He can advocate the soviet form of government; he can advocate socialism; he can advocate communism, if he wants to, so long as he confines himself to peaceful means. But when he stands up on the public platform or in the meeting room and advises the establishment of soviet government here by force and violence, by murder, by burning, and by the destruction of property, then this bill reaches him, and reaches him most effectively. [Applause.] I believe that the people of the United States, all patriotic red-blooded Americans, want the Government of the United States to be in a position to adequately protect itself against that kind of doctrine. Section 3 of the bill provides—

That no person shall orally or by writing, printing, or the use of any sign, symbol, picture, caricature, or otherwise teach, incite, advocate, propose, or advise, or aid, abet, or encourage forcible resistance to or forcible destruction of the Government of the United States, its Constitution, laws, and authority, or the governments of the several States, all or any of them, or the existence of constituted government generally.

Is there anybody who can object to that? Also—

Or orally or by writing, printing, or the use of any sign, symbol, picture, caricature, or otherwise teach, incite, advocate, propose, or advise, aid, abet, encourage or defend the destruction of human life or the injury of any human being or the injury or destruction of public or private property as a means of changing the Constitution, laws, or Government of the United States or defeating the authority thereof.

Now, it has been said that this bill would interfere with labor organizations who propose to strike. If you take out sections 1 and 2, it does not do anything of the kind. It would not interfere with any labor organization that wanted to strike for any purpose so long as that organization did not advocate the use of force and violence as a means of overthrowing our Government, our Constitution, our laws, or their authority. And I do not believe that any patriotic labor organization man, whatever labor organization he may belong to, would object to any of the provisions of this bill after sections 1 and 2 are stricken out, if he understood what they are.

Mr. GOODWIN of Arkansas. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. HUSTED. Yes.

Mr. GOODWIN of Arkansas. What effect would sections 1 and 2 have if they should remain in the bill?

Mr. HUSTED. I think they would confer upon the law officers of our Government the power of efficient threat, if they saw fit to exercise it. I think they could say to a labor organization about to start a strike, "We think you are taking the first, the initial, step in an attempt to overthrow the Government, and we want to warn you that if anybody is killed as a result of this strike, we are going to hold you all for murder, and we have not got to give you individual trials. We will give you a group trial. We have only got to give one man an individual trial."

Now, I am absolutely opposed to that sort of thing, and I believe the people of the country are opposed to it; but if you take sections 1 and 2 out of the bill, then there will be no provisions in it that any patriotic American should have any objection to.

Mr. BROWNE. Does the gentleman believe in the section that gives the Postmaster General the right to censor all handbills, letters, and materials that pass through the mails, without any appeal or any hearing?

Mr. HUSTED. That is not the intention of the committee.

Mr. BROWNE. Section 6 gives that power.

Mr. HUSTED. A committee amendment will be proposed that will give the right of appeal from the decision of the

Postmaster General to the district courts, so that that appeal will be heard immediately and a decision made de novo.

Mr. BROWNE. The bill does not do that now.

Mr. HUSTED. The committee adopted such a provision, and it should be in the bill. If it has been inadvertently omitted, a committee amendment to that effect will be offered.

Mr. BURKE. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. HUSTED. Yes.

Mr. BURKE. Does the gentleman know that there was a similar bill presented in Pennsylvania, and all those objectionable clauses and features were taken out, and it was stripped down to a simple sedition law, but under that law they denied the members of organized labor the right to meet in a hall, two or three of them together, although those men were just as good American citizens as you or I and made just as great sacrifices as you or I?

Mr. HUSTED. I am not familiar with the statute to which the gentleman refers, but I know that if you take sections 1 and 2 out of this bill, no officer under its authority could interfere with organized labor in any respect whatsoever.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman has expired.

Mr. FLOOD. I yield 25 minutes to the gentleman from Texas [Mr. Box].

#### AMERICANISM OR EUROPEANISM—WHICH?

Mr. BOX. Mr. Chairman and gentlemen, for a period of 12 years, beginning with 1903 and ending with 1914, when the European war started, the number of aliens admitted into the United States ranged between 750,000 and 1,300,000 annually, never falling as low as 750,000 in any one year, six times rising above 1,000,000, and twice above 1,200,000.

The number coming during each of these years is shown by the following figures:

1903	756,046
1904	812,870
1905	1,026,499
1906	1,100,735
1907	1,285,349
1908	782,870
1909	751,786
1910	1,041,570
1911	878,587
1912	838,172
1913	1,197,892
1914	1,218,480

Enough immigrants came during these years to make two or three of the smaller States. During the earlier years of the Republic New England objected to the creation and admission of Western States, because she feared that they would turn the scale of power to the injury of interests which she cherished. Later, all thinking men saw that the character of the new States would control the Nation and its attitude toward vital questions. Therefore there was a hard fight, a series of political battles, a series of campaigns, a protracted political war over the Missouri Compromise, the admission of Texas, and the Kansas-Nebraska bill. The question was, Who should be in the Union and in position to participate in control of the Nation? The sequel proved that the leaders and the people were not making "much ado about nothing," but that the issue on slavery and a certain construction of the Constitution depended on the admission or exclusion of States whose people would favor certain policies.

The even greater question now is whether Americanism shall dominate or be destroyed, whether the people and spirit of this country shall be American or European or oriental in character. The result will certainly and vitally affect the character of the Nation and the fate of its people.

The continents of Europe, Africa, and Asia have been and are the homes of hundreds of millions of pitiful human creatures who have labored and had a hard existence. Famine in China and Ireland, and bitter poverty everywhere; serfdom in Russia and kindred curses in all the Old World; Jewish pogroms, Armenian massacres, Spanish inquisitions, French revolutions, Russian exiles and Russian chaos, wars without number, and almost without end, all mere waves on the wretched human sea which has covered the other three continents for ages.

Sometimes suffering has caused frantic uprisings and revolutions, but stillness, silence, and endurance have in the main pervaded this pitiful human mass. Sometimes their wails have shrieked in the words of Hebrew poets and prophets. At other times an Irish bard has told of "ages of bondage." A Tolstoi has made his life and words an index finger pointing to it. Because of it a peasant poet has concluded that "Man was made to mourn."

Europeanism and Orientalism are synonyms of poverty and slavery, but Americanism has meant other things. I do not use the word in a political clap-trap sense. When not coming from the mouths of demagogues Americanism means plenty,

opportunity, and freedom. Here has developed a race whose attitude toward life is different from that of men in countries where such a mess has been made of human society. This attitude toward life also is Americanism. Europeanism and Orientalism have starved, belittled, and deformed men. Thus we have in the Old and New Worlds opposites of conditions and character. Such opposites create conflicts. Slavery desires to break into freedom; famine wants to feed on plenty. Thus America presents what the world wants—a meal to satisfy its hunger, an antidote for its woes. The question is not whether we shall help them, but whether Europeanism shall envelop America to its destruction as the home of Americans.

The contests between races rising out of such conditions constitute one main development of history. America was Europeanized as against the original American—the Indian. Europeans are rapidly converting Africa into a home for themselves as against the African. The character and status of India with its 250,000,000 of people is rapidly being changed. Every country has been changed by an obtruding, incoming people from without. China, Korea, and Manchuria are passing through the process now. Australia, France, ancient Rome, ancient and modern Egypt, England in its conflicts with the ancient Britons and later with Normans are examples of such changes. No country has been permanently exempt from this peril. Such struggles are certain; they have waxed and waned eternally. In some instances the process is war; in others it is less noisy and exciting, but no less destructive of the existing national life.

The destruction of the spirit, institutions, and government of a people may be by quick violence like Germany used toward Belgium and France, by infection like that which Germany put into Russia to destroy it, or by both dilution and infection such as would take place in America should the new and un-Americanized element become so numerous that their sentiments would prevail over the views of Americans who understand and cherish the traditions and spirit of their country, or should the poison of radicalism and disorder from that source imperil our institutions?

The size and character of this throng, measured by tens of millions, make it look ominous to one who wants America to live forever—not as Europe and Asia have existed, but in the full possession of its own American soul, the spirit and atmosphere of a home for Americans, which is a heaven as compared with Europe and Asia, lying forever under the curse of poverty and oppression.

The number coming during the 12 years mentioned and ending with the check caused by the war is shown by the figures already presented, in addition to which I remind you that there are 13 States now having more than one-half of their population foreign born, and the children—not grandchildren—of foreign-born father or mother, or both. They are: New York, New Jersey, Massachusetts, Connecticut, Rhode Island, Illinois, Minnesota, Wisconsin, Michigan, North Dakota, South Dakota, Montana, and Utah. Many of these are big States, like Illinois, with 25 Representatives in Congress and 27 presidential electors, and New York, with 43 Representatives in Congress and 45 presidential electors. Some of them have as much as 70 per cent of their population so constituted; Minnesota, North Dakota, and Rhode Island have. Several have more than 60 per cent of such population; New York, Connecticut, and Massachusetts have. Then there are 13 other States having more than 35 per cent of such population, and many others having a heavy percentage of such population. (See pp. 85 to 89, Abstract 13th Census.)

Every student of this question knows that these people are collecting in dangerous hundreds of thousands in the large cities. President Roosevelt said in his message to the Fifty-ninth Congress:

As much as possible should be done to distribute the immigrants upon the land and keep them away from the congested tenement-house districts of the great cities. (P. 101 Record, 59th Cong., spec. sess.)

The Immigration Commission's report, from which I quote freely because of its authenticity, says:

In making the large cities and industrial centers their place of residence, aliens composing the new immigration movement have continued to follow a tendency which originated with the advent of such immigrants in considerable numbers. (1 I. C. R., 40.)

And again:

The increase in foreign-born is an increase in city population entirely, and mostly in large city population. (1 I. C. R., 142.)

In 1910 Greater New York had a population of 4,766,883, of whom 19.3 per cent were native-born whites of native parentage, 40.4 per cent were foreign-born white, 38.2 per cent were the children—not grandchildren—of foreign-born fathers or mothers, and 1.9 per cent were negroes.

Chicago had in 1910 a population of 2,185,284, of whom 20.4 per cent were native-born whites of native-born parents, 33.7 per cent



were foreign-born whites, 41.8 per cent were the children of foreign fathers or mothers, and 2 per cent were negroes.

Pittsburgh in 1910 had a population of 533,905, of whom 33 per cent were native-born whites of native parentage, 26.3 per cent were foreign-born whites, 35.9 per cent were children of foreign-born father or mother, and 4.8 per cent were negroes.

Milwaukee had in 1910 a population of 373,867, of whom 21.1 per cent were native-born whites of native parentage, 29.8 per cent were foreign-born whites, 48.8 per cent were children of foreign-born father or mother, and 9.3 per cent were negroes.

Boston in 1910 had a population of 670,585, of whom 23.5 per cent were native-born whites of native parentage, 35.9 per cent were foreign-born whites, 38.3 per cent were children of foreign-born father or mother, and 2 per cent were negroes.

Fall River, Mass., had in 1910 a population of 119,295, of whom 13.3 per cent were native-born whites, 42.6 per cent were foreign-born whites, 43.7 per cent were children of foreign-born father or mother, and 3 per cent were negroes.

Worcester, Mass., had in 1910 145,986 people, of whom 28.4 per cent were native-born whites, 33.2 per cent were foreign-born whites, 37.5 per cent were children of foreign-born father or mother, and 9 per cent were negroes.

On page 95 of the Abstract of the Thirteenth Census will be found the authority for these figures. Many more such cases could be cited, but these are typical, and sufficient to show how these people are congesting in the cities.

The worst of this element tends to align itself with the enemies of government. Like children they stand in the midst of good things provided by others, without any thought of their cost, or of the necessity of preserving them.

Europe and the Old World have made their society and government so often and so long the instruments of oppression that men have come to look upon government as an evil and the enemy of man—especially of lowly man.

These millions of recent arrivals consisting of Slovenians, Turks, Bulgarians, Russians, and other long oppressed, and largely lawless, men, bring infection with them and provide dangerous breeding ground for infection from their own poison and from poison already here. They furnish a very dangerous kind and quantity of material on which the vicious madness of communism, anarchy, and chaos may and does feed. The fact that we have a big, bad element of our own, instead of reducing the danger, increases it. If all Americans were good ones, the danger would be much less, but our bad class is large enough to be dangerous within itself, and is much more to be dreaded when it has millions of un-Americanized men of a class specially subject to its influences and suitable as its instruments.

Mr. James Bryce, in his "American Commonwealth," a friendly, learned, and impartial work on America, says over and over again that the vast immigrant population of the cities is ignorant and unpatriotic, and that it is a pity that they have been given civil power. (Vol. —, p. 299; vol. 2, pp. 97-98.)

I recently collected figures showing 2,428 red conspirators against the Government, whose arrests were reported in one recent issue of a daily paper. Of this 2,428, 2,088 were arrested in 13 States having more than one-half of their population foreign born or their first-generation children; 235 came from States having 15 to 50 per cent of their population foreign born and their first-generation children; and 5 came from States having 5 to 10 per cent of their population foreign born or their immediate children. None came from States having less than 5 per cent of their population so constituted.

Who shot President Roosevelt? John Shrank, born in Germany.

Who killed the loved and lamented McKinley? Try to pronounce his name, and you will know the rest.

As indicating the source from which the thousands of anarchists now in this country came, I give you below the names of the defendants recited in one brief by their attorney in a legal proceeding against them as alien anarchists:

Mike Bratko, Thomas P. Buhkanow, Nikolai Besarow, Ignatz Bogdanoff, John Banuff, Abe Brook, Michael Abrossimoff, Misha Antonoff, Roman Andrieuk, Benjamin Apanasech, Fred Antonchuk, Aaron Shalow, Maxim Schinejko, George Cyzyk (alias Paul Gigalko), John Coslick, John Duboff, Tony Federaco, Thomas Furs, Andrew Hostilla, Alfons Hajduk, Boris Keretchuk, Demian Kravchuk, Tony Korscheikoff, Joe Kozza, Teodosi Kotovich, Steve Kaminsky, Piotr Kozloff, Samuel Kanonowich, Alex Kornen, Michael Koropotko, Michael Kravchuk, Dora Lipkin, Arthur Lesiga, Andrew Lazarewitz, Anton Lipsky, Mike Lavrenuk, Gregory Melnikoff, John Newar, Andrew Nazaruk, Peter Novick, Ivan Novikoff, Nikolai Oehrimuk, Dimitrie Panko, Joseph Poludeck (alias Balluck), Mathew Podlipy, Theodore Proshkovich, Human Perkus, Daniel Rice (alias Daniel Risch), Louis Ristick, Ili (Eli) Shinkewich, Alexander Schatz, Boris Schatz, Maximilian Stocky, Tony Smollock (alias Smollakow), Mike Seegan (alias Michael Seegunoff), Michael Sawicki, August Schmidt (alias William Lauwa), Harry Skochuk, Tom (Foma) or Tommie Turka, Peter Urgel, Stephen Uschenna (Stephen Uschenia), John Veremenuk, Demian Vlasoff or John Vlasloff, Nikolai Vizeroff, Nicholas Wasiloff, Harry Wardner, Peter Voronenko (J. Waschenko), John Yarmola, Nikita Safronoff (Necita Zafronia), Peter Zorin, Vincent Martzin, Alexander Derkaci.

My information is that most of the citizens of the United States charged with plotting the overthrow of the Government are of this class.

Here let me make it plain that my remarks do not apply to the worthy people of nearly all European races who came among us and became Americans and have contributed much to American life. I am not talking about such men any more than about other good Americans.

America could do no wiser thing than to stop immigration, for the present at least; but it will not be easily stopped. The talk of stopping all immigration has been heard for a hundred years, but the number increases at a quickening rate.

In the 10-year period from 1820 to 1830 foreign immigrants numbered 151,824, which was 1 immigrant during that 10-year period for every 84 persons within the United States at the end of that period.

The next 10 years brought 599,125, 1 immigrant to every 23 people in the country at the end of that 10-year period.

Jumping 30 years to the period extending from 1870 to 1880, we find 2,812,191 immigrants, which was 1 immigrant to every 17 persons in the Nation at the end of that period.

Jumping again to the 10 years between 1900 and 1910, we see 8,795,386 aliens coming, which was 1 to every 11 persons in the country at the end of that period.

These figures do not mean that there was only 1 immigrant to 11 persons in the country in 1910, but 1 in every 11 had come during the preceding 10 years—many new millions added to many millions already here. There were fluctuations in the tide, but the rate of their coming increased by leaps, absolutely, and in proportion to the population.

Enough people want to come to America now to overwhelm us. Europe could easily double our population in a decade, making it much less than one-half American. The Old World Continents could easily empty on us a flood which would drown the life of America in a generation. They threaten to do it, and conditions favor it. It is stated that we are much closer to the Old World than we were a few years ago, which is true for purposes of knowledge, communication, travel, and immigration. The narrowing of the Atlantic for acquaintance and travel and business also makes these attractive shores better known and nearer to the millions who are trying to escape the wretchedness on the other side. Where thousands crossed in one year 90 years ago millions crossed annually 10 years ago, and the rate threatens to quicken still more.

The sense of self-preservation, the intuition of the American people has prompted them with more or less urgency for many years to protect themselves from this danger. During the past 25 years this alarm has quickened, and if America had had its will it would have protected itself.

Our Presidents have not usually been in sympathy with the views of the people on this subject, and have repeatedly used the veto power to prevent them from giving expression to what they have repeatedly tried to say for themselves and their posterity. In 1879 President Hayes vetoed the first Chinese exclusion act. (2 I. C. R., 580.) In 1882 President Arthur vetoed an act suspending Chinese immigration for a period of 20 years. (2 I. C. R., 581.) On March 3, 1897, President Cleveland vetoed an immigration act excluding illiterates. (2 I. C. R., 573.) President Taft vetoed an immigration bill in 1913 containing a restriction against the admission of illiterates. (P. 101, RECORD, special session, 59th Cong.) In 1917 President Wilson vetoed an act excluding illiterates, but Congress passed it over his veto.

The difficulty of getting restrictive measures enacted is only a part of the trouble. It has been hard to get our immigration and naturalization laws enforced. Separate States first encountered the opposition in their efforts to protect themselves. After many years of struggle with European-owned shipping interests the States were defeated in the courts and gave up the struggle. In 1824 New York enacted a self-protective, restrictive measure, which alien shipowners disregarded and resisted in the courts. A divided court, for the time being, upheld the law. (50 Pet., 102.) In 1837 Massachusetts enacted two kindred measures, which were bitterly contested by foreign shipping interests and the laws nullified. (7 How., 283; U. S. Sup.) California, Louisiana, and several other States enacted similar laws, but European shipping interests disregarded them and fought them in the courts until the United States Supreme Court, in Ninety-second United States, page 259, held them unconstitutional and left Congress as the only power to deal with this all-important subject.

The history of the dealings of Congress with immigration is the record of difficulties caused by shipowners, contract-labor importers, and other obstructions embarrassing all efforts to protect the country against incoming criminals, prostitutes, paupers, and anarchists.

Before 1820 no record was kept of immigration and no regulation of any kind was attempted. During the first 50 years after 1819 the Nation did nothing toward restriction, but did attempt to prohibit shipowners from crowding poor wretches together like hogs or cattle in the insanitary, inhuman manner practiced by them, which caused degradation, disease, and thousands of deaths among them.

I read from volume 2 of the report of the United States Immigration Commission, page 580, which I cite as "I. C. R.":

Prior to the year 1819 there were no United States laws governing or regulating ocean passenger traffic. \* \* \* As a result abuses were permitted and practiced on transporting vessels that caused distress, disease, and death, especially among immigrants bound for America. (2 I. C. R., 589.)

Further, the fact that the protection given by the law—

\* \* \* was inadequate, is shown by the gruesome records of the steerage experiences in those days. (2 I. C. R., 591.)

From the beginning of the movement of population from Europe to the New World suffering and death were common on immigrant ships. Among the earlier instances recorded was that of 3,000 Palatines forwarded \* \* \* by England to New York, 470 of whom died on the voyage and 250 soon after their arrival of ship fever. There is also a gruesome account \* \* \* of experiences on a ship which sailed in 1731 for America from Rotterdam with 156 immigrants. She was bound for Philadelphia via Falmouth. When she had been at sea eight weeks the passengers were put on short allowance, and during the last five weeks of their journey were unable to obtain bread. Finally they were paying 18 pence for a rat and 6 pence for a mouse. (2 I. C. R., 589.)

Upon the increased demand for transportation to the United States following the close of the second war with England, many vessels which had originally been constructed solely for the purpose of transporting freight were hurriedly transposed into emigrant ships, that they might enjoy some of the profits of a business that had become lucrative. This, with the fact that excessive overcrowding had been practiced on all vessels, rendered the condition of emigrants at sea almost unbearable. (2 I. C. R., 590.)

The potato famine in Ireland occurred in 1847, and in consequence there was a great increase in emigration from that country. (2 I. C. R., 591.)

Famine-stricken Ireland was also fever-ridden; \* \* \* the disease was carried aboard ship, where in the overcrowded and poorly ventilated steerage quarters thousands died of ship fever and thousands more survived the voyage, only to die after landing.

Thousands of Irish and other British emigrants died during the voyage to Canada, and at Grasse Island, near Quebec, where the Canadian quarantine station was located, as many as 7,000 emigrants perished from ship fever and cholera in 1847 alone. (2 I. C. R., 592.)

In 1819, 1847, and 1855 laws were passed by Congress to limit crowding and prevent the starving of immigrants, but these were opposed, avoided, and disregarded by the shipping concerns. The Immigration Commission says:

It may well be questioned whether the condition surrounding the transportation of emigrant passengers had been improved by any of these laws. (2 I. C. R., 593.)

Slave ships, moved by human greed, brought wretched humans from Africa to sell into slavery in America, where they embroiled the country in years of strife, caused an awful war, and yet present a dangerous race problem. Immigrant ships, for gain, have all along been the chief offenders against America and against humanity. Many of them have been German, many have been British, and some have been American. Their desire for profits is now an embarrassment to the enactment of proper legislation and the enforcement of such as we have.

The greed of steamship companies, the greed of cities, the greed of men in America who want to make money off of immigrants, and the greed of those who want cheap labor is at the root of most of the difficulty in enacting and properly enforcing immigration laws. Each class of employers wants cheap labor. Some want tailors; others want railroad hands; many want factory hands; others, though comparatively few, want them for farm help. Some want Italians; some want Russians for mine work; some want Mexicans, mainly for railroad work. All these say, "Keep out undesirables," by which most of them mean the kind the other people want to work—not the kind they want to work.

The acts of 1882 and 1885 excluded criminals, idiots, lunatics, persons liable to become a public charge, and contract laborers. In 1888 this House passed a resolution reciting that the law prohibiting the admission of contract laborers, paupers, and convicts was being extensively evaded, and authorized the appointment of a committee to investigate the subject. (2 I. C. R., 569.) The committee found that thousands were unlawfully admitted every year, and that serious danger resulted. (2 I. C. R., 570.) In 1890 a joint committee of the House and Senate found that the contract-labor law was "generally evaded." (2 I. C. R., 571.) In 1893 another joint committee of the House and Senate found that undesirable aliens not entitled to admission were being admitted, and that the so-called examination of immigrants at ports of entry "appeared to be more of a farce than a reality." (2 I. C. R., 572.) In 1907 the National Immigration Commission was created, which consisted of nine members, three appointed by the Repub-

lican President, three by the Republican President of the Senate, and three by the Republican Speaker of this House. Among its members were Senators LONGE and DILLINGHAM, Hon. John Burnett, long an honored Member of this House, and men of like character. It was overwhelmingly Republican, and is subject to no charge of unfairness against the Republican Party. The commission made the most exhaustive study of the industrial features of immigration in America, conditions in Europe causing immigration, and the enforcement of our immigration laws. Its work covered a period of more than three years, and is reported in some 40 volumes, its conclusion being largely covered in volumes 1 and 2 and its hearings in the remainder. I am citing these reports as Immigration Commission Reports, preceded by the number of the volume and followed by the page. This commission found that at that time feeble-minded, insane, and diseased persons were being fairly well excluded, but says:

No adequate means have been adopted for preventing the immigration of criminals, prostitutes, and other morally undesirable aliens. \* \* \* In spite of the stringent law, criminals or moral defectives of any class, provided they pass the medical examination, can usually embark at European ports and enter the United States without much danger of detection. (1 I. C. R., 27.)

The report further says that, because of the rigidity of the law, few actual contract laborers are admitted, but—

There are annually admitted a very large number who come in response to indirect assurance that employment awaits them. In the main, these assurances are contained in letters from persons already in this country, who advise their relatives or friends at home that if they will come to the United States they will find work awaiting them. On the other hand, it is clear that there is a large induced immigration, due to labor agents in this country, who, independently or in cooperation with agents in Europe, operate practically without restriction. (1 I. C. R., 29.)

In the same report, volume 1, page 25, it is said:

Comparatively few immigrants come without some reasonably definite assurance that employment awaits them, and it is probable that as a rule they know the nature of that employment and the rate of wages. A large number of immigrants are induced to come by quasi labor agents in this country, who combine the business of supplying laborers to large employers and contractors with the so-called immigrant banking business and the selling of steamship tickets. (1 I. C. R., 25.)

In the records of this House and reports of committees and joint committees and commissions created by both Houses I have not found one statement that these laws were generally and effectually enforced. Again and again in the record of a period of more than 40 years is found complaint of the violations or evasions of contract-labor laws.

Gentlemen, the evidence taken upon hearings of the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization, and an actual inspection of the work of admitting immigrants at Ellis Island in New York Harbor, have fully convinced me that your restrictions against the admission of undesirable immigration are not now being properly enforced.

The Bureau of Immigration is not, in my judgment, chargeable with the failure. The whole system is inadequate to a proper enforcement of the law. The force, arrangement, and system do not evidence an understanding of the problem or a purpose on the part of Congress and the United States Government to deal effectively with it. The land boundaries are not properly guarded.

As a member of a subcommittee, I saw thousands of aliens marching past a few inspectors while the ship moved toward the pier in New York port, through which three-fourths of our immigrants come. Any observer who will visit Ellis Island and one or two immigrant ships will see that a real and effective enforcement of the regulations provided by law is not being accomplished. The acting superintendent at New York admitted to the committee, in answer to questions propounded by me, that the so-called inspection is a farce. At a future time I hope to present this phase of the question more explicitly and fully.

The number coming is, during these days, increasing. Conditions in Europe favor it. I noticed recently that 8,000 were admitted in one day in New York, and the shiploads come daily.

It is very fitting that the big employers who want immigrants for their cheap labor, and steamship companies who want their passage money, should be represented by common agents in inducing immigration.

But who are the "large employers" whose demand for cheap labor is supplied by the "labor agents" mentioned? You can not tell so well by looking at the immigrants when they are starting or when they arrive at New York or Boston. But keep your eye on the immigrant until he goes to work, bearing in mind that he usually knew the nature of his employment and the prospective wages before he left Europe. You can tell then who is the "large employer" whose demand is being supplied by the men who are joint labor and steamship-ticket agents.



On page 38 of volume 1 of its report this Republican immigration commission says:

The aliens come from countries where low economic conditions prevail and where conditions of labor are very bad. They were content to accept wages and conditions which the native American and immigrants of the older class had come to regard as unsatisfactory. They were not, as a rule, engaged at lower wages than had been paid to the older workmen for the same class of labor, but their presence in constantly increasing numbers prevented progress among the older wage-earning class, and as a result that class of employees was gradually displaced. (1 I. C. R., 38.)

Again, on page 540 of volume 1 of the same report:

It is hardly open to doubt, however, that the availability of the large supply of recent immigrant labor prevented the increase in wages which otherwise would have resulted during recent years from increased demand for labor. The low standard of the southern and eastern European, his acceptance of a low wage and existing working conditions, his lack of permanent interest in the occupations and community in which he has been employed, his attitude toward labor organizations, his slow assimilation, and his willingness, seemingly, to accept indifferently, without protest, certain wages and conditions of employment have rendered it extremely difficult for the older classes of employees to secure improvements in conditions or advancement in wages since the arrival in considerable numbers of southern and eastern European wage earners. (1 I. C. R., 540-541.)

On page 406 of volume 1 of this report, in explaining a table showing the earnings of the heads of families, it is said:

It is evident from a comparison of the totals in the foregoing tables that the native-born heads of families have a higher range of annual earnings than those of foreign birth. The greater proportion of the former earned yearly between \$400 and \$800, while the greater proportion of the latter earned between \$300 and \$600. (1 I. C. R., 406.)

It was also found that the foreign-born laborer received the lowest wages; that the native-born children of foreign fathers received somewhat better wages; and that the native-born laborers of native parentage received the best. Of the wages of 26,616 wage earners of all races and classes the report says:

It is seen that the average annual earnings of 22,938 foreign-born wage earners \* \* \* were only \* \* \* \$455, as contrasted with average yearly earnings of \$566 for the 2,059 \* \* \* of native birth of foreign father, and of \$666 for 1,454 native-born white wage earners of native fathers. (1 I. C. R., 408.)

In an effort to learn who are the large employers for whom labor agents induce immigrants of the class mentioned to come in millions, let us study the large industries:

A large proportion of the southern and eastern European immigration of the past 25 years have entered the manufacturing and mining industries of the Eastern and Middle Western States. (1 I. C. R., 37.)

#### IRON AND STEEL MANUFACTURING.

Of the total number of employees in the industry, 57.7 per cent were found to be of foreign birth. \* \* \* Of the total number of iron and steel workers, 28.9 per cent were native born of native father, and 13.4 per cent were of native birth of foreign father. (1 I. C. R., 297.)

#### SLAUGHTERING AND MEAT PACKING.

It was found that 60.7 per cent of the total number of wage earners in the industry were of foreign birth. \* \* \* Of all employees, 24.8 per cent were of native birth and of native father, and 14.5 were native born of foreign father. (1 I. C. R., 298.)

#### BITUMINOUS COAL MINING.

Of the total number of employees, 61.9 per cent were of foreign birth; 9.5 per cent were of native birth, but of foreign father; and 28.5 per cent were native-born persons of native father. (1 I. C. R., 300.)

#### GLASS MANUFACTURING.

Of the total number of employees, 39.3 per cent were of foreign birth, 18.4 per cent were of native birth but of foreign father. (1 I. C. R., 301.)

#### WOOLEN AND WORSTED MANUFACTURING.

Of the total number of employees, 61.9 per cent were of foreign birth, 24.4 per cent were of native birth of foreign father. (1 I. C. R., 302.)

#### COTTON GOODS MANUFACTURING.

Of the total number of employees, 67.7 per cent were of foreign birth, 21.8 per cent were of native birth but of foreign father, and 9.4 per cent were of native birth of native father. (1 I. C. R., 304.)

The first employees of the New England cotton mills were secured almost exclusively from the farm and village population immediately adjacent to the early cotton goods manufacturing centers. (1 I. C. R., 507.)

Since the year 1885, and especially during the past 15 years, the operatives of the cotton mills have been mainly recruited from the races of southern and eastern Europe and from the Orient. (1 I. C. R., 511.)

The Americans, who formerly composed the bulk of the cotton-mill operatives in the North Atlantic States, at the present time form only about one-tenth of the total number of employees in the cotton mills. \* \* \* If persons native born of foreign father be added to this pure American stock, or those native born of native father, the total number of native-born operatives amounts to about three-tenths of the operating forces of the North Atlantic mills. The remaining part of the operatives, or about seven-tenths, is composed of employees of foreign birth. (1 I. C. R., 511.)

#### CLOTHING MANUFACTURING.

Of the total number of employees in the industry, 72.2 per cent were of foreign birth, 22.4 per cent were \* \* \* native born of foreign father, and only 5.3 per cent were native born of native father. (1 I. C. R., 305.)

#### FURNITURE MANUFACTURING.

Of the total number of employees, 59.1 per cent were of foreign birth, while 19.6 per cent were of native birth but of foreign father, and 21.2 per cent were native born of native father. (1 I. C. R., 307.)

#### LEATHER TANNING, CURING, AND FINISHING.

Of the total number of employees, 67 per cent were of foreign birth, 15.9 per cent were of native birth but of foreign father, and 11.4 per cent were native born of native father. (1 I. C. R., 309.)

#### OIL REFINING.

Of the total number of employees, 66.7 per cent were of foreign birth, 21.5 per cent were of native birth but of foreign father, and only 11.8 per cent were native born of native father. (1 I. C. R., 311.)

#### SUGAR REFINING.

Of the total number of employees, 85.3 per cent were of foreign birth, while 8.4 per cent were of native birth but of foreign father, and 6.3 per cent were native born of native father. (1 I. C. R., 312.)

In 1913 President Taft vetoed a bill passed by Congress to restrict and reduce immigration, and said in his veto message that he did so for the reason given in the accompanying letter of his Secretary of Commerce and Labor. Among the reasons given by his Secretary, Mr. Nagle, in the attached letter is the following:

We need labor in this country, and the natives are unwilling to do the work which the aliens come to do. (RECORD, Feb. 14, 1913, 63d Cong., 3d sess., p. 3156; Senate Doc. 1087.)

I have just shown what kind of work aliens come to do. I have also shown who are the "large employers" whose labor demands are being supplied by labor agents and steamship companies.

I call your especial attention to the fact that all immigrants gradually crowd out native Americans, and that new immigrants crowd out old immigrants.

On these undisputed facts, I base the following suggestions:

First. The big employers whom the labor agents are supplying with labor are the big protected industries, such as the cotton, worsted, clothing, steel, and coal producers.

Second. While these big concerns have sent our Republican friends to the people to talk of protection for American labor, in order to raise the prices of their goods, they have sent their labor brokers to get the lowest type of cheap European labor to hold down wages and living conditions and drive American labor out of the great protected industries.

Third. If the labor people vote for such a program as this, they will create in the minds of their fellow Americans a deep fear that labor does not know enough or has not vigor enough to take care of its own legitimate interests.

It will be noted that the highest figures for incoming immigrants were for the years beginning in 1903, when Republican tariff laws were in force, and continued until 1914, soon after the Underwood Act took effect, and that the Democrats, with some patriotic Republican help, were the first to enact a law restricting immigration by the exclusion of illiterates.

Another interesting and highly important consideration is the attitude of organized labor toward this incoming throng. First, the report of the Immigration Commission, volume 1, page 38, shows that 10 years ago these newcomers did not merge into the labor organizations easily, nor cooperate with them, but competed for their employment on terms unsatisfactory to American labor. I am informed that American labor organizations of the most pronounced American type did not at first take favorably to having this ignorant and somewhat degraded mass drawn into their organizations, and at first excluded them; that later, when they saw these new millions of incoming foreigners ready to take their places in the mines and factories; that when they talked to their employers of better pay and better conditions they saw the foreign throng waiting for their work, and were thereby forced to take them into their organizations; that after being forced to take them in or be completely displaced, they now find them gaining the ascendancy in numbers, and often giving an irresponsible and radical character to the organizations which they are capturing, while their American brothers find it necessary to cooperate with them, or acquiesce in their radical tendencies, rather than lose all touch with them and be crowded out of the industries of the country. From this bad part of the foreign element comes much that causes American labor brotherhoods to be accused of contract breaking and radicalism.

What are Americans in the unions to do? Work with them as best they can, and hold on to their own jobs, or give up the unions and the work to them and try to meet their foreign millions in unequal competition for a place to toil? If the unions are surrendered to them, they will go to worse excess. Americans of the laboring classes in the sections where these men have come have been placed in a perilous position by their coming. Their fellow Americans should recognize it and give them such hearing and recognition as will enable them to get what is right and increase the hold of Americans upon American labor. Laboring people should oppose radicalism, help arrest immigration, and take less seriously the Republican talk about protecting American wages.

Yet another suggestion arises from these facts for your consideration. Just now your committee is besieged with appeals from industrial employers not to close the door against incoming labor. This fact, considered with the other facts, should advise American labor that these people are still to be brought here to take their places. The interests of labor require that it be protected from the importation of an endless supply of European pauper labor.

The public, the millions of Americans, are entitled to have their country protected from Europeanization by the importation of this un-Americanized European mass.

What are employers thinking? Do they realize that the worst, most radical element is now found in the bad portions of the foreign element? Will they replace each relay of employees with another still less American, still more infected with the virus of socialism, radicalism, and anarchy; still less subject to the appeal of order and Americanism? At this rate how long will any property be protected, any order maintained, any cherished American institution be perpetuated?

Industry may pile its present profits higher by such a course, but it is surely making provision for the destruction of the very property which industry would accumulate.

Labor, the general American public, and employers themselves, if moved by enlightened self-interest, will join in building barriers against that which will injure and eventually ruin all.

That vast masses of them are not becoming good Americans is known to everyone who has observed them or the effect of their presence. They are having the rights of citizenship bestowed upon them as they move in herds through the court rooms. As members of a subcommittee of two, assigned to that, I and the gentleman from Louisiana [Mr. Wilson] sat through an entire daily session with one of the New York City judges while sitting as a court of naturalization. First, let me say that the judge seemed conscientious and capable; I have no criticism to make of any clerk, inspector, or officer of the Government whose work I observed. We entered the room a few minutes before the judge and occupied seats at his desk. The room was then jammed full of aliens, not one of whom I heard at any time pronounce his name so that I could understand it. The room was so full of them and their witnesses that no effort was made to seat them all. I was told that there was another room full waiting to enter as soon as there was space for them. When the judge entered, the procession was formed and moved under the direction of policemen in much the same manner as an officer controls traffic at a busy street crossing. Each alien waiting to be made a citizen, with few exceptions, was accompanied by two witnesses. As that procession started past the judge, I soon decided that the applicant was being examined as to the legal requirements, and his two witnesses heard, and the oath administered to him at the rate of one case a minute or faster—not one witness a minute, but the applicant and the two witnesses heard and the oath of allegiance administered in one minute. Looking at my watch, I carefully counted the number of cases disposed of in five minutes and found the number to be 10. Doubting the accuracy of that count, I kept my watch before me and made a score mark as each case was disposed of. During that five minutes eight cases were heard and disposed of. In 90 minutes 125 cases were heard, which included the examination of 125 aliens and substantially 250 witnesses. In 90 minutes 375 people had given testimony, interspersed with a few remarks by the judge and officers, and many such expressions as, "That's all!" "Step this way!" "Step lively!" from policemen, as they rushed the herd by the court. An average of less than one-quarter of a minute—15 seconds—was consumed in examining each applicant and witness. An officer read the oath of allegiance in a hurried, muffled whisper while the witnesses were marching past the judge. Such is the manner of making United States citizens of people whose efforts to speak English few Americans or none could understand, and whose answers about America and its Government would shame an average 6-year-old American child.

Mr. DONOVAN. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BOX. Yes.

Mr. DONOVAN. There is no question but that the requirements of the Government were complied with in these instances, is there?

Mr. BOX. No very serious contention could be made that they were doing it.

Mr. DONOVAN. That they were or were not trying to do it.

Mr. BOX. Understand, I appreciate the environment and difficulty up there, and I will join with my committee in doing anything I can to help remove the obstacles; and I want to

make plain, as I tried to do a moment ago, that I am not reflecting on any man.

Mr. DONOVAN. The point I was making was this. I came from a New England city, as a member of the New England bar, to the New York bar. My first impression when I went into a New York court was that the procedure was so unusual to what I was accustomed to in New England I doubted its efficiency, but after I became a resident of New York and saw the great volume of business and the great dispatch that had to be employed and learned that real results were obtained just as good as in New England, I then wondered why it was not just as good as the New England practice.

Mr. BOX. I will say this: The dispatch was there. [Laughter and applause.] They had policemen there and their main words were "Step lively," "Step quick," "Come this way." They heard a man's testimony and did not ask 1 in 10 whether he was an anarchist; they heard his witnesses and swore him to allegiance to that flag, in a muffled whisper, while his witnesses marched past the court.

In the same farcical manner are examinations made of shiploads of aliens on the ships in the harbor when about to be admitted to America. Of course the acting superintendent had to admit to one who saw it that it was a farce, as he did to me.

This claptrap talk about Americanism amounts to nothing. The question is whether a man really wants America to be preserved for Americans. If he is the right kind of an American, he is generous and brave, but at the same time he believes in providing for his own household. I have not very much respect for the man whose patriotism is so thin or whose allegiance is so divided that he has to look two ways—try to please two masters—when he considers questions affecting the welfare of his country. [Applause.]

The American people should look into the question of the number being admitted, the question of their distribution, and the manner in which they are being made American citizens. [Applause.]

Gentlemen, this problem needs the thoughtful, practical attention of Congress and the country. I am making this statement to bring this serious situation before you and the people. When I became a Member of this body I resolved to do something more than talk about this momentous question, with its bearing upon us and our children who are to succeed us. I sought and obtained a place on the committee which has this subject in charge and have attended every meeting of the committee. As a member of the subcommittee I spent several days in New York, the port through which most of these immigrants enter the country, studying the problem there, and seeking to provide a remedy for it. I shall continue to give my best thought, attention, and labor to it, and urge upon the committee, upon Congress, and upon the country such measures as will save our country from threatened ruin, by the changing of America from a home for Americans to a Babylon of strange voices, strange faces, strange un-American ways, a place from which the spirit of America has taken its departure—another Europe, another Orient. May the God of Nations save us and our children from such a calamity. [Applause.]

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman has expired.

Mr. PORTER. Mr. Chairman, I yield 10 minutes to the gentleman from Kansas [Mr. LITTLE].

Mr. LITTLE. Mr. Chairman, as the only Member of either branch of this Congress who has ever been employed in the Diplomatic Service of his country, I always take an active interest in this Diplomatic and Consular bill. In view of the part our Government is taking in the affairs of the world the four hours granted for general debate on this bill could be well employed in discussing the bill. When Cleveland assimilated Hawaii, 25 years ago, Cherif Pasha, first secretary of foreign affairs for Egypt, said to me, "Your country is going into politics." He meant world politics. Since we have embarked in the world's affairs on a big scale, this Congress should give more serious care to this bill. The State Department does not give much thought to it.

Glancing at the bill, on page 2 I see something that is worthy of a moment's consideration from the committee. We send these ministers to foreign countries, and occasionally we find a little country where we can not afford to send a minister, and we appoint a man to represent two countries. Heretofore, last year and before, I have had occasion to call attention to some of the idiosyncrasies of the service, and said to the committee and the State Department what might be remedied. My suggestions got no consideration in the House, but when this foreign bill came here for conference they were remedied. The Senate had fixed most of them, and I found them in the bill



after it came back from conference. I want to throw out one or two suggestions now in the hope that the Senate will get at them or perhaps the committee will make the needed changes here.

We have an ambassador to Belgium and a minister to the Netherlands, and in this bill the little State of Luxemburg is tacked onto the jurisdiction of the Netherlands minister. The territory of Belgium lies between Luxemburg and the Netherlands. If Luxemburg has to be attached to some minister's duties, it should be attached to the duties of the fellow that goes to Belgium. His domicile is immediately adjacent to Luxemburg. The minister to Holland can not go directly to Luxemburg except by passing through Belgium. The Belgian minister gets \$17,500 a year, and the Netherlands man gets only \$12,000, and if there is not to be any extra man, let the \$17,500 man do the extra work. Luxemburg should go with Belgium.

I find the minister to Greece carries the burden of Montenegro. That country immediately adjoins Serbia, and the people speak the same tongue. There is an intervening country between Greece and Montenegro, a great mountain country, difficult to pass through, and a long distance away. If you are going to attach Montenegro to the duties of another minister, as I suggested two years ago, you ought to give it to the minister to Serbia, the one immediately adjacent. Those two countries are entirely alike, and the work is the same in both. My idea is you ought to apply the rule of common sense to the matter, just as everybody would except a diplomat. I throw out these two suggestions now in the hope the change will be made.

Mr. GREEN of Iowa. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. LITTLE. I will.

Mr. GREEN of Iowa. The gentleman is aware, of course, that the Paris conference is disposing of these people according to its own sweet will?

Mr. LITTLE. I can speak of it, can I not, even if that is true?

Mr. GREEN of Iowa. Oh, yes.

Mr. LITTLE. For a moment I am going to take the diplomat's attitude, and I take it from the State Department's view, that is a sensible one.

I read here:

Agent and consul general at Cairo, \$6,500.

This man is not agent and consul general at Cairo. He is the minister to Egypt. His dominion and power extend all over Egypt, 2,000 miles up the Nile, and across the Red Sea to Jeddah, the seaport of Mecca. He holds a place of considerable responsibility. On one occasion I was addressing the Sultan, on an official occasion, and I spoke of the agent at Cairo. Those diplomats are very jealous of their prerogatives. The wife of one of my colleagues said to me, "I notice that you are appointed at Cairo, not to the rest of the country." I was a little embarrassed. The American representative there should be as well accredited as his colleagues. You would assist the man who has that job and make it a little easier and nicer for him if instead of saying "agent and consul general to Cairo" you would say "agent and consul general to Egypt." It would not cost a cent, and it would put his office in a position of being more highly respected there. Cromer, my colleague in 1892 and 1893, was agent and consul general, too, but his country gave him the rank in their service of minister resident though he was agent to Egypt.

Now, I would be glad if some member of the committee would tell us how some of these countries got in here in this bill, although it is all right with me. I see here Czechoslovakia and Poland have ministers. I suggested two years ago that they ought to be put in here, and the committee told me that the State Department had informed them that it could not be done because there was no treaty with them, though they had Austria-Hungary, with whom we were at war, in the bill—

Mr. BLANTON. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. LITTLE. Yes.

Mr. BLANTON. It was done on the gentleman's suggestion. [Laughter.]

Mr. LITTLE. I thank you. It seems I am a greater power than I thought I was. [Laughter.]

Mr. PORTER. I will say to the gentleman that the independence of Poland and Czechoslovakia was recognized in January of last year.

Mr. LITTLE. Who recognized them?

Mr. PORTER. The President of the United States.

Mr. LITTLE. Who runs this Government, anyway? Is it the Congress of the United States who make the laws, or is it the President?

Mr. BLANTON. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. LITTLE. Yes.

Mr. BLANTON. I would suggest that it is the steering committee. [Laughter.]

Mr. LITTLE. Oh, that is doing very well, so far. I hope it will keep it up. I am glad its ability is recognized by the gentleman. [Laughter.]

These gentlemen down at the State Department, it appears, have now recognized Poland and Czechoslovakia. I am glad of it, but really there ought to be a treaty. Things should not run loosely this way. Congress should take care of such things instead of letting the State Department run wild. But I suggest that we should go a step further. Why do we not recognize some of these other countries, as, for instance, Armenia and Georgia? There are two Christian peoples who stepped of their own accord into this war and declined all offers from the enemy and fought on our side. One hundred and sixty thousand Armenians were engaged in this war on our side. When they were pouring back from the Russian front with the rest of the Russian Army the Armenians came by train to Baku, from Russia, and could get no farther, and found themselves surrounded by a horde of Moslem Tartars. The Armenian Bagratouni, who had been Kerensky's chief of staff, organized them and took possession of Baku. They fought for several weeks and conquered the Turks and the Tartars there, and held Baku for months and months. We did not know—nobody knew—what had happened at the time. A great victory had been won for the Allies. Central Asia had been taken for the Allies.

The leader in that movement, Gen. Bagratouni, has been here for weeks and no hand extended to welcome him. This one-legged hero of the Caspian should have recognition here, and his nation should have recognition. How does it happen that Armenia and Georgia are not recognized as well as Poland and the Czechs? We have cheered in our galleries several splendid soldiers of European nations, none of them more worthy of our applause than the Armenian. He is as much entitled to recognition as any other hero of the war. There is Gen. Andranik, the mountain chieftain, who fought the Turks to a standstill and actually won Armenia's independence on the field of battle. It was agreed that Armenia's existence should be recognized by the Turks themselves. Why does not our Government recognize it?

Andranik has a record not surpassed by any in all the stories of forlorn hopes for freedom. There is a splendid chance now to send a minister to Armenia without it costing us a cent. There is no minister or ambassador to Turkey provided for or mentioned here. That is a very funny feature in this bill. But I turn over the pages and I see that there is \$26,200 to be expended on the Turkish Embassy for secretaries and assistants and clerks and students—\$26,200 appropriated here, and no minister or ambassador. Let some one explain that if he can. If you have not an ambassador, how are you going to have an embassy? There should not be any minister to Turkey unless there is one to Armenia. We owe recognition to them more than we do to the Turks. What I suggest ought to be done is to amend this bill so that you will have a minister to Armenia, Georgia, and Turkey. Why \$26,200 for clerks and students in Constantinople?

Mr. GREEN of Iowa. Very desirable places for deserving Democrats.

Mr. LITTLE. But their time is so short. Establish a minister at Tiflis, to Armenia, Georgia, and Turkey. You can take this \$26,200 and put them all in, and it will not cost you a cent. Neither will the advice I am giving you, I will say to the committee. [Laughter.]

If the State Department or the President could recognize Poland and Czechoslovakia, as I understand it can and has, let it also recognize Armenia and Georgia. They have at Tiflis almost as splendid a city as this is, with beautiful palaces and noble buildings. They have big newspapers, almost as big as those here. They have a great city to send a minister to. That is my suggestion. Send a minister to Armenia and Georgia and Turkey; put them in the bill. When Allenby beat the Turks below Damascus 8,000 Armenian veterans were with him and 100,000 Turks were away fighting Armenians toward Erzerum, where Andranik had become one of the Orient's resplendent and chivalric figures, a nation's hero. Let us welcome him and Bagratouni by according Armenia recognition and a minister. Is this a Christian Nation? Then let us recognize in this bill the oldest Christian people, over whom the star of Bethlehem swung sixteen hundred years ago. If the President can recognize one nation, we can appropriate the money for another. [Applause.]

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Kansas has expired.

Mr. LITTLE. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent to revise and extend my remarks.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection to the gentleman's request?

There was no objection.

Mr. PORTER. Mr. Chairman, I yield five minutes to the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. BURKE].

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Pennsylvania is recognized for five minutes.

Mr. BURKE. Mr. Chairman, I desire to say a word in answer to the remark of the gentleman from New York [Mr. HUSTED], that "if sections 1 and 2 were taken out of the sedition bill no man with red blood in his veins would dare vote against the bill."

As a member of organized labor, I want to say that the four railroad brotherhoods and the American Federation of Labor denounce anti-Americanism and anarchy and are as loyal to this American Government as any Member of Congress. I want to declare myself, first, as an American citizen who still believes in and reveres the Constitution of the United States; and, second, as an American citizen who believes in the wisdom and the justice and the divine inspiration of those greatest of all Americans, the fathers of our country, the creators of American liberty, when they wrote into that covenant of liberty, the Constitution of the United States, these words:

Congress shall make no law . . . abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press; or the right of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances.

Such bills as these are an insult to the intelligence and loyalty of the American people. There is and there can be no question that the masses of the American people are for their country first, last, and all the time; [applause] that they would willingly and generously shed their lifeblood in defense of that country. [Applause.] This has been demonstrated beyond all shadow of doubt in the World War just ended, when the noblest youth of America crossed the ocean to bear arms in defense of American principles of truth, liberty, and justice; when American families gave up their loved ones with a spirit of patriotism bordering on the divine.

In every village, city, and State of the Union there are broken hearts and saddened homes on account of the ravages of the war, and it is from these homes and the hearts of these people that the strongest cry comes for the survival of democracy in this land.

We hear talk of discontent existing in the country, and we actually know there is discontent and unrest.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Pennsylvania has expired.

Mr. BURKE. Would the gentleman let me have a few minutes more?

Mr. PORTER. Mr. Chairman, I yield to the gentleman five minutes more.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman is recognized for five minutes more.

Mr. BURKE. But laws such as this will only add fuel to the flames, for I want to say right here that the discontent existing is a natural discontent brought about by the proposal of laws and the enactment of laws which encroached upon the constitutional rights of the people of America. If there is one thing the people of this country love, it is their sense of American freedom; if there is one thing they guard with jealousy, it is their constitutional rights, and the American people are not going to tamely submit to the taking away of those rights.

Burdened down with the high cost of living until the wage earner to-day can not make ends meet, realizing that an unscrupulous system of profiteering is prevalent in the country, and that nothing is being done to bring the profiteers to justice or to lower the cost of living, the people naturally and rightfully voice their discontent and disapproval.

According to the press report of the country, during the period of war 17,000 millionaires were created, which means \$17,000,000,000 more of private wealth garnered out of a Nation's woe and a people's misery. If Congress would turn its guns upon these newly made millionaires and endeavor to find out just how they made the millions, and let the common people of the Nation alone for a little while, I think some of the unrest would disappear, for the people would think that possibly there was some hope of them getting a "square deal."

I am opposed to the sedition bill because it is vicious in character, subtle in meaning, and is one of the most damnable schemes ever perpetrated against a free and liberty-loving people. It is a blot upon the Nation. In my opinion, its sole purpose, its one intent, is to hold in subjection the working people, to crush labor, to deny the common people the right of public speech, the right of public assembly, the right to offer protest against any intolerable political or industrial conditions. [Applause.]

Mr. FLOOD. I yield 10 minutes to the gentleman from Texas [Mr. BLANTON].

Mr. BLANTON. Mr. Chairman, from time to time something has been said of the power exerted over this Congress and over legislation by a party steering committee. I wish my party had a strong steering committee. I am beginning to believe in steering committees to a certain extent; because when I can see the leader of a steering committee crack the whip, and in 15 minutes fill these seats here with 160 Republicans and keep them on the floor for hours to pass a bill in accordance with a prearranged understanding, as was done yesterday afternoon, I begin to believe in that sort of business. And it might not be so bad after all, because the steering committee is composed of Representatives in Congress who are supposed to represent the people of the land. But I am going to tell you of a power that makes the power of the Republican steering committee look like 30 cents. I am going to tell you who is the real dictator of this Congress and of legislation in this land; not the Republican steering committee, if you please, but it is the president of the American Federation of Labor who comes to this Capitol from time to time and who gives orders and who has his orders obeyed.

On last Saturday I called attention on the floor of the House to the fact that the New York papers that morning had told the country that Mr. Gompers had stopped the bringing in of a rule making in order the Graham sedition bill, which had the approval of the Republican steering committee, yet, regardless of such approval, was held up by order of Samuel Gompers. A futile attempt was made to intimidate that something else had stopped it. But in the next morning's paper the facts were made plain to the people of this country, because the statement was then made and sent broadcast over the land by Mr. Samuel Gompers that he opposed this bill and that same must not be passed. Then the public became aware of the fact that it really was Samuel Gompers who was setting aside the action of the Committee on the Judiciary and the Republican steering committee and was holding back this legislation.

Mr. BROWNE. Will the gentleman yield right there?

Mr. BLANTON. I am sorry I can not. I have not the time.

Mr. BROWNE. I want to ask a brief question, whether Attorney General Palmer—

Mr. BLANTON. I refuse to be interrupted, and I ask the Chair not to take this out of my time.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman refuses to be interrupted.

Mr. BLANTON. Because I want to tell the gentleman something that possibly he knows but does not publicly admit. Who appeared before the Rules Committee yesterday morning in opposition to this bill? Why, Mr. Samuel Gompers, president of the American Federation of Labor. Mr. Gompers was the chief figure there, backed up by his attorney and his cohorts, and he said he did not want that bill passed. And what did he do? He came with a threat, as usual; a threat to whom? Not to the Congress, because he has already threatened Congress, but to the Republican Party, which controls the passage of legislation here. He told the chairman of the Rules Committee almost in the first breath what the distinguished gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. BROWNE] told you awhile ago, that in 1798, when the last peace-time sedition bill was passed in this country, he said the old Whig Party passing it was defeated, destroyed, and went out of memory because through punishment it was put out of power by the people of the country, intimating to the Republican Party that if they let this bill go through they would suffer defeat at the hands of 5,000,000 organized members of unions in the country. Did it have any effect? Such orders as he gave could have but one effect. Why, the Washington Times came out immediately and said the sedition bill was buried; that it was dead; and my friend from Kansas [Mr. CAMPBELL], the chairman of this great committee, came out afterwards and said, "Oh, it is because the newspapers of the country do not want the bill." And he intimated that there were some newspapers from my State which did not want it. I will state to the gentleman [Mr. CAMPBELL of Kansas] that he can not name a bona fide, loyal newspaper in Texas that objects to a reasonable, proper antisedition law. I challenge him to do it. The Houston Post, the Dallas News, the Star-Telegram, the Fort Worth Record, the San Antonio Express, the Waco Times-Herald, the Austin papers, the El Paso papers, I challenge him to show that any of such papers as that object to a proper sedition law to stamp out anarchy in our beloved Republic.

Are the Attorney General and the law-enforcing peace officers of this land going to be forced by your action and mine to have bodyguards follow them day after day and night after night to keep them from being assassinated? Why, my friend from Pennsylvania [Mr. BURKE], says what Mr. Gompers said, that



this bill sought to shackle labor. When Mr. Gompers said that the chairman of the committee said, "Mr. Gompers, please turn to the provision in that bill that you claim seeks to shackle labor," and he could not do it. He had to turn to his attorney and let his attorney point out the supposed paragraph. Then he said that it sought to shackle them because it prevented them from using moral force to change the Constitution. Thereupon the distinguished chairman of the Judiciary Committee arose and explained that moral force was not involved in the bill, and that it did not in any way restrain any newspaper, any public speaker, or any individual, unless they advocated the overthrow of this Government by physical force and violence. Does this bill seek to restrain the use of moral force? No. Does it interfere in any way with the constitutional right of free speech and free press? No; it does not. You can not find a loyal newspaper in the land that will ever be hampered or restrained in any way by the provisions of this bill. But should an anarchist paper like Freedom preach anarchy, or preach the overthrow of this Government by physical force and violence, it will reach them, and it ought to reach them, and it ought to hang their editors as high as Haman. And when a public speaker gets upon the rostrum is there anything in this bill that will prevent free speech? Is there anything that will prevent his advocating a change in the Constitution by lawful means? Why, no; unless in the attempt to exercise his constitutional prerogative he seeks to advise the people of the country to use physical force and violence to throw aside their Constitution and to overthrow their Government. Then it does touch them and reaches them. And the dirty scoundrels ought to be reached by law and properly punished. Are you surprised that the anarchists of the country do not want a law against anarchy? Why, law interferes with their business. Are you surprised that murderers do not like a law against murder? Law and punishment interfere with their murdering. My friend from Pennsylvania [Mr. BURKE] frankly says that he is against sedition laws, and intimates that all other union men are against sedition laws, because same might incite trouble with anarchists. Let me ask him, Is he likewise against the law to punish murder? Sedition acts culminate in murder, and no murderer likes the law that punishes the crime of murder. Is he likewise against the law to punish burglary because burglars do not like it? No burglar likes either law or punishment. Is he against the law to punish rape because rapists do not like that law? Is he afraid that such laws may incite murderers, burglars, and rapists to commit crime?

Mr. BURKE. I should like to answer that question.

Mr. BLANTON. I will let you answer it later, but I must use my own time.

Mr. BURKE. All right. I do not want to interrupt the gentleman.

Mr. BLANTON. I would gladly yield to the gentleman, had I the time. Do not take this out of my time. Do you know that it is no longer the money power of the country that elects men to Congress now and men to the legislature and men to the governor's chair? Why, the money power is past. That autocracy is gone and forgotten. The biggest autocracy that exists in this Nation to-day is the autocracy that stopped this sedition bill. Samuel Gompers is the presiding autocrat. There is the autocracy. His is the power that fills public office and makes and unmakes laws just now, because the people have not yet fully awaked. Are you men going to be big enough to vote your sentiments? And with the exception of about five men who hold union-labor cards in this House, your real heart sentiments are the same as my sentiments, and you know it. You have got the same feelings on this matter that I have got. You know that the people of the United States are dominated by an organized class and are not getting a square deal. Are you not brave enough in your representative capacity, in behalf of all the people, to get up here and pass a proper sedition law, and let Mr. Gompers go where I once told him to go when he was sending me orders, which instead of obeying I told him to go to hell.

Mr. BURKE. He did not go, though, did he?

Mr. BLANTON. No; and I do not want him to go there. I hope he does not, but he has no business telling me or any other Congressman what we shall or shall not do, or to threaten us so often. He has no right to make a threat against the Republican Party and make your leaders shake in their shoes. He has no right to come in here and stop legislation needed for the country.

There is a proper mode of changing the Constitution. This bill does not take away from any brother union member of my good friend from Pennsylvania any right to change the Constitution lawfully in accordance with its terms.

The political spokesman on the floor of the House for the Republican Party, the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. RODENBERG], can not camouflage the issue by asserting that the Attorney General has "cold feet." Gen. Palmer personally advised Chairman CAMPBELL that—

A criminal element exists in this country which can not be reached except through a sedition law such as was proposed by him.

The members of the Rules Committee know full well that the bill introduced by Congressman DAVEY was specially prepared by the Attorney General as the legislation needed. With his letter sent to the Rules Committee and read at the hearing yesterday the Attorney General sent a copy of the sedition bill he wanted passed, and urged its prompt passage, and reiterated that he needed it passed to stop anarchy in this country. The people are going to wake up soon and resume mastery. They can not be fooled. They know that it was Samuel Gompers's orders which has stopped this bill, and the people are going to resume electing Congressmen and all other officers before long.

Mr. BURKE. Mr. Chairman, the gentleman from Texas [Mr. BLANTON] in his remarks put a pointed question to me. I should like to answer it.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman can not be heard without getting time from one of the gentlemen in control of the time.

Mr. BURKE. I hope the chairman will give me time to answer the question. It will not take long.

The CHAIRMAN. This is out of order.

Mr. PORTER. I yield five minutes to the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. EMERSON].

Mr. EMERSON. Mr. Chairman and gentlemen of the House, when I was home during the holiday vacation I had a letter handed to me in Cleveland by Mr. Charles W. Toland, which I should like to insert in the RECORD. I have always believed that our diplomatic corps and the Navy should be used as much as possible within reason to advance the commerce of this country, and I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the RECORD by inserting this letter.

Mr. WALSH. What is the letter about? Is it about what the gentleman has referred to?

Mr. EMERSON. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Ohio?

There was no objection.

The letter is as follows:

CLEVELAND, OHIO, January 5, 1923.

HON. HENRY I. EMERSON, M. C.,  
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: We wish to call your attention to the difficulties which our Mr. F. B. Anderson recently experienced in endeavoring to make a business trip to South America. The facts are as follows:

The principal product of our factory is machinery used for pressing oil from coconuts, peanuts, and other oil-bearing seeds. At the present time we have a large foreign trade in the Orient.

It seems that the Central and South American countries are producers of large quantities of oil-bearing seeds from which valuable edible oils can be obtained.

Prior to the war the Germans largely controlled this business. However, the present is the opportune time for the manufacturers in the United States to obtain this South American trade.

With this in view our Mr. F. B. Anderson planned a six months' trip to South America and provided himself with credentials, passports, and other papers. In fact, he visited the Agricultural Department at Washington, with whom we have had extensive relations in the way of running experiments for them at various times on oil-bearing seeds.

Mr. Anderson left New York on November 24 on the steamer *Drazos* and arrived at San Juan, P. R., November 24. Inasmuch as there are no steamers from Porto Rico to South America, it was necessary for him to reach the island of St. Thomas, at which point the lines of steamers for South America touch.

While both Porto Rico and St. Thomas are now United States possessions, it seems, however, that there are no connections between the two islands. While Mr. Anderson was at San Juan the United States gunboat *Vixen*, which, by the way, is a converted yacht, arrived December 2 from St. Thomas, bringing the admiral and his family for Christmas shopping. Mr. Anderson called on Capt. White, of the *Vixen*, and asked that he and Mrs. Anderson be transported to St. Thomas, and agreed to ride on deck or in any other way they might wish. However, Capt. White absolutely refused to take him, stating that it would be impossible unless he were a Government employee. The *Vixen* returned to St. Thomas in a day or two and came back again with a party of people who wished to be at San Juan while Secretary Baker was there.

Mr. Anderson again asked Capt. White for passage and was again refused. During the conversation he showed his credentials to Capt. White and also explained that he was not on a pleasure trip, and was frankly told by Capt. White that the Navy did not think much of the business man.

The upshot of the matter was that Mr. Anderson was finally obliged to return to New York and is now in Cleveland, and possibly may not be able to get away this season, inasmuch as all the ships going to South America are booked up.

This seems to us to be a very poor policy on the part of the United States Government in not allowing Government vessels to carry people in an emergency of this kind, particularly as the *Vixen* was used as a ferry, and, furthermore, as it took only about six hours to go from San Juan to St. Thomas. The *Vixen* on her trips only carried people who Capt. White claimed were either Government employees or their relatives.

The British consul of San Juan stated that if a British warship came in, he would gladly take Mr. Anderson over to St. Thomas, and further stated that their navy made it a point to assist their people in every way possible, and that they would gladly extend our people the same courtesy.

A Dutch warship came into the harbor while Mr. Anderson was there and offered to take him to the island to which they were destined, but, unfortunately, there was no means of Mr. Anderson getting away from this island for at least 60 days.

We feel, in view of the fact that the Government is urging the people in this country to get foreign trade, that this matter is worthy of investigation, and that Capt. White or his superior officer should be called to account for their attitude, which was certainly unbusinesslike. It has certainly come to a great pass if boats which are paid for by the people and for which the people are taxed can not be used except for carrying naval and Government employees on pleasure expeditions.

Yours, respectfully,

THE V. D. ANDERSON CO.,  
A. D. ANDERSON, Secretary.

Mr. PORTER. Mr. Chairman, I move that the committee do now rise.

The motion was agreed to.

Accordingly the committee rose; and the Speaker having resumed the chair, Mr. MADDEN, Chairman of the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union, reported that that committee had had under consideration the bill H. R. 11960, the Consular and Diplomatic appropriation bill, and had come to no resolution thereon.

#### LEAVE OF ABSENCE.

By unanimous consent, leave of absence was granted as follows:

To Mr. O'CONNELL, for one week, on account of illness.

To Mr. STOLL (at the request of Mr. BYRNES of South Carolina), on account of sickness.

#### EXTENSION OF REMARKS—RECLAMATION FUND.

Mr. HERNANDEZ. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to insert in the RECORD a statement made by the president of the Pecos Water Users' Association, Carlsbad, N. Mex., before the Committee on Ways and Means. It is very interesting, and I think it would be illuminating to some of us.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from New Mexico asks unanimous consent to extend his remarks in the RECORD in the manner indicated. Is there objection?

Mr. WALSH. How long an article is it? It is costing a good deal of money to print the RECORD these days.

Mr. HERNANDEZ. It is not very long. There are some very interesting statistics in it.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

The article referred to is as follows:

BEFORE THE WAYS AND MEANS COMMITTEE,  
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,  
Washington, D. C., January 20, 1920.

STATEMENT IN BEHALF OF \$250,000,000 LOAN TO THE RECLAMATION FUND  
MADE BY FRANCIS C. TRACY, PRESIDENT PECOS WATER USERS' ASSOCIATION, CARLSBAD, N. MEX.

Mr. Chairman and gentlemen, we appreciate that the gravest possible responsibility rests upon you, in that you largely control the expenditures and direct the financial policies of the Nation at this most critical period. The spirit of unrest and discontent threatens civilization itself. At a time when increased production alone can sustain the financial structure through the delicate and difficult readjustment period and repair waste and when such increase is absolutely needed to feed and clothe the world, there is a universal slacking up in labor which is leading toward disaster. Patriotism requires us to speed up. Strict economy is necessary, but economy alone will not pay debts or sustain life. It must be subordinated to the higher law of nature—produce and reproduce or perish.

The agricultural program offers such a procedure—a concrete, safe, and sane road toward a gradual reduction of the high cost of living by a steady increase in the production of the necessities of life and a corresponding increase in the population and wealth of the Nation, thus immediately alleviating the unavoidable burdens of taxation in two directions at one time.

Senator WADSWORTH, of New York, recently put the problem briefly and eloquently when he wrote, "The relative decrease in the farming population has become a menace to the Nation. It is as certain that this Government will be forced to take some definite action regarding the settlement of land as it is that the British people will no longer tolerate the ownership of the land of England for shooting preserves. Home hunger is a primal thing. It is the desire to own homes which has brought millions of immigrants to the United States. Home owners are the backbone of a self-governing nation, because necessarily they are self-governing individuals." A constructive national land-settlement program offers a direct cure for Bolshevism, which is the greatest political problem of the day. This problem is acute and demands immediate solution. All those who have home hunger in their hearts must be searched out and those who are competent must be helped upon the land, whether soldiers, sailors, or long-neglected and undigested foreign immigrants. This must be done by private endeavor under Government guidance. This program will lead to solve the agricultural labor problem in every State. If begun immediately it will offer opportunity for labor in self-sustaining, self-feeding effort should any slacking up occur in industry.

The program must be big enough and broad enough to get big results and to interest and focus the best minds of the Nation and thus stimulate private effort upon the same lines. Therefore Congress must initiate and sustain this new enterprise upon the proper scale and scope to arouse and to direct the patriotic effort of the whole Nation toward in-

creased production and active labor along those lines which first laid in the thirteen original States the foundation of this magnificent, wealthy, and powerful Nation. The superstructure has outgrown this foundation, and it is for us here and now to remedy this condition.

It is interesting and suggestive that although a call was made to more States, the 13 most westerly alone were represented in Salt Lake City in November, and their representatives were the first to formulate a plan for the part of the extreme West in this nation-wide land-settlement program, which to them unanimously appears to be the one best adapted to their local conditions. It is necessarily based upon the national reclamation act, adopted in 1902. This plan has to-day been presented to you and affects the 17 so-called reclamation States.

We wish to call your attention to the fact that these States are very large producers of cattle, sheep, wool, alfalfa, cotton, and sugar—all items directly affecting the cost of living in every household in the United States—and they comprise the only large area where the production of all these products can be rapidly and greatly increased. These products, you will note, complement rather than compete with the products of the rain belt, even our cotton being of special long-staple varieties grown only under irrigation. These products even reduce the cost of living to every farmer's family.

We ask for very little present outlay in comparison to the immediate productive results to be obtained by the completion of works long since begun by the Reclamation Service, but discontinued during the war for lack of funds, labor, and material.

A total loan to the reclamation fund (not a direct appropriation) of \$250,000,000 to be pledged at once because of the need of a comprehensive and continuous constructive program, and to avoid all risk of another period of shutdown, waste, and loss, such loan to be made in installments as needed and to be appropriated for yearly expenditure at the discretion of Congress in such amounts as will be most efficient, probably never more than \$20,000,000 in any one year.

The yearly appropriation actually required may even probably be reduced by receipts from the sale of public lands and from coal, oil, and gas leases, so as to materially extend the relief period, but it must be held available for time of need.

If desired in the future still further to reduce the annual loan installments from the Treasury, this can be done by establishing a policy of grazing leases or licenses upon the public domain within these States, proceeds of which in part could go to the reclamation fund, or those grazing lands themselves might be turned over to the States to be administered as they see fit, certain proceeds therefrom to go to that fund.

Some such policy of range control and range improvement must soon be established if meat production is to be sustained and increased in the great live-stock breeding area of the Southwest, which now furnishes and must continue to furnish the larger portion of the feeders for the corn belt and the grass lands of the Central States and the North. Three successive years of drought having sadly depreciated the range as well as decreased the herds strongly emphasize this feature, as well as the need for increased alfalfa production. The price of alfalfa in the Southwest has advanced from \$8 to \$35 and \$40 per ton f. o. b. cars under the present conditions.

Should this policy be inaugurated it may well be that this union of the 13 States of the far West and their leadership will result in a new birth of national consciousness, a renewal of national energy, and a new era of national growth second only to that inaugurated by the 13 Eastern States in 1776. Gentlemen, we ask your assistance and your cooperation, as we believe, upon a thoroughly sound basis.

In behalf of New Mexico I append some statistics to support our argument and also to sustain the position that because we have been now working nearly 20 years under a definite Federal reclamation program, which has largely influenced our State irrigation laws and practice, the resulting legal, financial, and practical agricultural and irrigation ramifications are such that all of our greater irrigation problems, and many of the smaller, are so interdependent with Federal interests that we absolutely can not move alone.

#### New Mexico irrigation statistics.

Total area of New Mexico	acres	78,485,760
Irrigated area (three-fourths of 1 per cent)	do	637,215
Population of the State		450,000
Population of irrigated area (66½ per cent)		300,000
Annual production irrigated area		\$25,488,600
Total bank deposits in irrigated area		\$30,494,000
Total assessed valuation in State		\$375,000,000
Assessed valuation of irrigated area		\$38,500,000
Area under existing canals to be made available by increased storage chiefly by reclamation funds	acres	150,000
Increase available by completion of Rio Grande and Carlsbad projects and canals at Taos and Fort Sumner	acres	150,000
Total possible increase in irrigated area	do	1,045,000

To illustrate the present interdependence of irrigation, present and future, in the State of New Mexico, both legal and practical, with the reclamation program of the United States, and the present acute situation which is bringing serious financial loss both to the settlers and the United States by delay, it is proper to say that the two reclamation projects in the State—the Rio Grande project, with a net investment cost June 30, 1919, of \$2,295,964.75, and the Carlsbad project, net investment \$1,204,577.35—are each, respectively, situated at the lower end of the watershed of the two great north and south drainage areas traversing the entire State, and under the State irrigation law hold an appropriation right for storage which completely dominates these drainage areas.

On June 30, 1919, Carlsbad project construction charges had accrued to the amount of \$221,963.30, all but \$14,406.51 having been collected, while under the Rio Grande no construction charges had been made or collected because of bad drainage conditions and deferred construction now practically at a standstill for lack of funds. Meanwhile, many of the settlers' improved farms have gone back and more are being threatened by the lack of drainage facilities.

Estimated acreage damaged by seepage June 30, 1919	80,700
Estimated acreage protected by drains to June 30, 1919	57,000
Estimated acreage to be protected by drains	147,000
Cost of drainage to June 30, 1919	\$930,535.95

(See p. 263 of 18th Ann. Rept. of the Reclamation Service.)

Crop report for the Carlsbad project for the year 1919 is appended hereto to show the character of crops grown and the annual return therefrom on the southern projects in Arizona and New Mexico.



## Crop yield report of Carlsbad project for the year of 1919.

Crop.	Area.	Unit of yield.	Yields.				Values.		
			Total.	Per acre.			Per unit of yield.	Total.	Per acre.
				Average.	Maximum.	Minimum.			
Irrigated for production of this crop:	<i>Acres.</i>								
Alfalfa hay.....	7,031	Ton.....	21,306	3.03	6	0.5	\$20.18	\$429,974.00	\$61.15
Alfalfa seed.....	912	Pound.....	125,041	135	400	25	1.245	30,199.00	33.11
Barley.....	66	Bushel.....	1,396	21.15	22	20	1.73	2,420.00	36.66
Cane.....	379	Ton.....	721	1.90	6	.4	14.61	10,538.00	27.80
Corn fodder.....	429	do.....	556	1.30	4	.2	15.73	8,746.00	20.38
Corn, Indian.....	541	Bushel.....	11,797	21.80	45	10	1.57	17,773.00	32.85
Corn, sorghum.....	279	Hundred-weight.....	2,725	9.75	25	8	2.76	7,528.00	27.00
Cotton.....	8,713	Bale.....	5,051	.58	2.75				
Cotton seed.....	8,713	Pound.....	2,525,805	290	1,375	50	.50	1,262,902.00	144.96
Garden.....	34	Ton.....	2,399	.275	2,610	150	70.00	167,930.00	19.27
Oats.....	119	Bushel.....	1,995	16.76	22	10	.56	2,750.00	80.87
Pasture.....	1,080	Acre.....						1,111.00	9.33
Peaches.....	53	Pound.....	134,753	2,542	8,000	330	.044	23,535.00	21.79
Pears.....	7	do.....	13,500	1,920	3,000	500	.043	5,998.00	113.17
Potatoes, sweet.....	21	Pound.....	181,620	8,649	16,000	1,200	.033	585.00	83.57
Wheat.....	301	Bushel.....	5,727	19.02	.33	8	1.83	6,055.00	288.38
Total and average.....	28,678							10,501.00	34.88
Less duplicated areas.....	9,925								
Total cropped.....	18,753								
Irrigated for other purposes:									
Fall alfalfa seeding.....	388								
Fall oats seeding.....	157								
Irrigated without crop.....	1,065								
Less duplicated areas.....	1,610								
Total other purposes.....	1,610								
Grand total irrigated.....	20,333								

Areas.	Acres.	Farms.	Per cent of project.
Total irrigable area farms reported.....	24,990.6	565	100
Total irrigated area farms reported.....	20,363	565	13
Under water right applications.....	24,990.6	565	100
Under rental contracts.....	None.		
Total cropped area farms reported.....	18,753	565	75

## SENATE BILL REFERRED.

Under clause 2 of Rule XXIV, Senate bill of the following title was taken from the Speaker's table and referred to its appropriate committee as indicated below:

S. 411. An act to confer jurisdiction on the Court of Claims to certify certain findings of fact and for other purposes; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

## ADJOURNMENT.

Mr. PORTER. Mr. Speaker, I move that the House do now adjourn.

The motion was agreed to; accordingly (at 5 o'clock and 10 minutes p. m.) the House adjourned until to-morrow, Saturday, January 24, 1920, at 12 o'clock noon.

## EXECUTIVE COMMUNICATIONS, ETC.

Under clause 2 of Rule XXIV, executive communications were taken from the Speaker's table and referred as follows:

1. A letter from the Secretary of the Navy, transmitting a tentative draft of a bill relative to promotion by selection in the Navy (H. Doc. No. 628); to the Committee on Naval Affairs and ordered to be printed.

2. A letter from the Secretary of the Interior, transmitting report required by the act approved June 25, 1910, covering the period of December 1, 1918, to November 30, 1919, inclusive, together with copy of a letter from the Commissioner of the General Land Office (H. Doc. No. 629); to the Committee on the Public Lands and ordered to be printed.

3. A letter from the Secretary of the Treasury, transmitting an alternate estimate of appropriation required for salaries, Metropolitan police, District of Columbia, fiscal year 1921, to comply with provisions of the act of December 5, 1919 (H. Doc. No. 630); to the Committee on Appropriations and ordered to be printed.

4. A letter from the Secretary of the Treasury, transmitting supplemental estimate of appropriation required by the Federal Board for Vocational Education for vocation rehabilitation for the current fiscal year (H. Doc. No. 631); to the Committee on Appropriations and ordered to be printed.

5. A letter from the Secretary of the Treasury, transmitting alternate estimate of appropriation required by the Federal Farm Loan Board for the fiscal year 1921 (H. Doc. No. 632); to the Committee on Appropriations and ordered to be printed.

## REPORTS OF COMMITTEES ON PUBLIC BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS.

Under clause 2 of Rule XIII, bills and resolutions were severally reported from committees, delivered to the Clerk, and referred to the several calendars therein named, as follows:

Mr. WALSH, from the Committee on the Judiciary, to which was referred the bill (H. R. 7629) to amend the penal laws of the United States, reported the same without amendment, accompanied by a report (No. 580), which said bill and report were referred to the House Calendar.

Mr. COLE, from the Committee on Indian Affairs, to which was referred the bill (S. 806) conferring jurisdiction on the Court of Claims to hear, determine, and render judgment in the claims of the Iowa Tribe of Indians against the United States, reported the same without amendment, accompanied by a report (No. 581), which said bill and report were referred to the House Calendar.

## REPORTS OF COMMITTEES ON PRIVATE BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS.

Under clause 2 of Rule XIII,

Mr. ROSE, from the Committee on Claims, to which was referred the bill (H. R. 7567) for the relief of G. T. and W. B. Hastings, partners, trading as Hastings Bros., reported the same without amendment, accompanied by a report (No. 583), which said bill and report were referred to the Private Calendar.

## PUBLIC BILLS, RESOLUTIONS, AND MEMORIALS.

Under clause 3 of Rule XXII, bills, resolutions, and memorials were introduced and severally referred as follows:

By Mr. BRAND: A bill (H. R. 12010) for the erection of a public building at Covington, Ga.; to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

By Mr. VENABLE: A bill (H. R. 12011) to provide for the copyright of educational games; to the Committee on Patents.

By Mr. FULLER of Illinois: A bill (H. R. 12012) concerning the administration of the pension laws in claims for pensions of persons who served in the Army, Navy, or Marine Corps of the United States during the Civil War, and by the widows of such persons; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. SMITH of Idaho: A bill (H. R. 12013) for the reclamation of lands in the Imperial and Coachella Valleys, Calif., and for other purposes; to the Committee on Irrigation of Arid Lands.

By Mr. RHODES: A bill (H. R. 12014) to provide a tariff and to obtain revenue in connection with cobalt, oxide of, and repealing existing laws fixing the rate of duty on such commodity; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

#### PRIVATE BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS.

Under clause 1 of Rule XXII, private bills and resolutions were introduced and severally referred as follows:

By Mr. ANTHONY: A bill (H. R. 12015) for the relief of the Leavenworth Bridge Co., of Leavenworth, Kans.; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. DICKINSON of Missouri: A bill (H. R. 12016) granting an increase of pension to William F. Dines; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. EMERSON: A bill (H. R. 12017) to reimburse William H. Flagg and E. B. Flagg for property destroyed by mail aeroplane No. 73, operated by the Post Office Department; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. GANLY: A bill (H. R. 12018) granting an increase of pension to William Kiley; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. HERSEY: A bill (H. R. 12019) granting an increase of pension to Isaiah G. Mayo; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. MOORE of Ohio: A bill (H. R. 12020) granting a pension to Charles L. Kent; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 12021) granting a pension to Ida McCoy; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 12022) granting a pension to George W. Murphy; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. NICHOLS of Michigan: A bill (H. R. 12023) granting a pension to Louise M. McArthur; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. PADGETT: A bill (H. R. 12024) granting a pension to Sophia Schram; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. ROWE: A bill (H. R. 12025) granting an increase of pension to Margaret L. Burns; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. SELLS: A bill (H. R. 12026) granting an increase of pension to Robert W. McFarland; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. SLEMP: A bill (H. R. 12027) granting a pension to Sarah C. Bragg; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. WHEELER: A bill (H. R. 12028) to remove the charge of desertion against William H. Mounce; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. WILLIAMS: A bill (H. R. 12029) granting a pension to John T. Burris; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 12030) granting a pension to James C. Overbee; to the Committee on Pensions.

#### PETITIONS, ETC.

Under clause 1 of Rule XXII, petitions and papers were laid on the Clerk's desk and referred as follows:

1075. By the SPEAKER: Petition of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America, of New York City, relative to certain legislation now pending; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

1076. Also (by request), petition of First National Labor Party, Bellville, Ill., regarding the treatment of the mine workers by the Department of Justice during the recent strike; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

1077. By Mr. BROWNING: Petition of the Gloucester County Pomona Grange, No. 8, of New Jersey, against universal military training and a large standing Army; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

1078. Also, petition of the Gloucester County Pomona Grange, No. 8, of New Jersey, protesting against renewal of the daylight-saving plan; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

1079. By Mr. CARSS: Petition of sundry citizens of the eighth district of Minnesota relative to certain railroad legislation; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

1080. By Mr. CULLEN: Petition of the Ancient Order of Hibernians, of Philadelphia, Pa., relative to the Mason bill; to the Committee on Appropriations.

1081. By Mr. DARROW: Petition of the Cliveden Improvement Association, of Germantown, Philadelphia, Pa., urging daylight saving legislation; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

1082. By Mr. FULLER of Illinois: Petition of John L. Lewis, of the United Mine Workers of America, against the Sterling-Graham sedition bills; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

1083. By Mr. O'CONNELL: Petition of the United Mine Workers of America, at Indianapolis, Ind., protesting against Senate bill 3317 and House bill 11430; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

1084. Also, petition of A. M. Farrier, of the Easton Car & Construction Co., of New York City, protesting against Senate bill 3317 and House bill 11430; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

1085. Also, petition of the National Conservation Association of Washington, D. C., against certain provisions in House bill 3184; to the Committee on Water Power.

1086. By Mr. ROWAN: Petition of Gifford Pinchot, president of the National Conservation Association, regarding the water-power bill (H. R. 3184); to the Committee on Water Power.

1087. Also, petition of Aloysius D. Mabry, first lieutenant, United States Army, Cohoes, N. Y., regarding the protracted hospital treatment for military personnel in the Army; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

1088. Also, petition of John L. Lewis, president of the United Mine Workers of America, protesting against the sedition bills now pending; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

1089. By Mr. SMITH of Michigan: Petition of Frank P. Rogers, commissioner of highways of Michigan, favoring the Kahn bill (H. R. 9412); to the Committee on Military Affairs.

#### SENATE.

SATURDAY, January 24, 1920.

(Legislative day of Friday, January 23, 1920.)

The Senate met at 12 o'clock noon, on the expiration of the recess.

#### MESSAGE FROM THE HOUSE.

A message from the House of Representatives, by D. K. Hempstead, its enrolling clerk, announced that the House had passed the following bills, in which it requested the concurrence of the Senate:

H. R. 11892. An act making appropriations for the construction, repair, and preservation of certain public works on rivers and harbors, and for other purposes; and

H. R. 11927. An act to increase the efficiency of the personnel of the Navy and Coast Guard through the temporary provision of bonuses or increase of compensation.

#### AMERICANIZATION OF ALIENS.

The Senate, as in Committee of the Whole, resumed the consideration of the bill (S. 3315) to promote Americanization by providing for cooperation with the several States in the education of non-English-speaking persons and the assimilation of foreign-born residents, and for other purposes.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The pending question is on the amendment of the Senator from South Dakota [Mr. STERLING] as modified.

Mr. SMOOT. Mr. President—

Mr. KENYON. Before the Senator from Utah suggests the absence of a quorum, will he wait a moment? The roll call may serve two purposes. I should like to inquire of Senators if a unanimous-consent agreement can not be obtained to vote on the bill? I would suggest that we vote this afternoon, but, if not, say Monday by 3 o'clock. Such an agreement would necessitate a call for a quorum, and if it is had now the call may accomplish two purposes. Is there any objection so far as Senators present are concerned?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. What hour on Monday does the Senator suggest?

Mr. KENYON. I suggest 3 o'clock on Monday, but 4 o'clock would be satisfactory.

Mr. HITCHCOCK. I am not able to speak for those on this side who are absent, but as far as those here are concerned we would not have any objection to making it late in the afternoon on Monday.

Mr. KENYON. I should like to inquire of the Senator from Mississippi [Mr. HARRISON].